

J. D. Whitridge


London - May 5 - 1843

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JOURNALS
OF THE
REV. JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN
AND
MR. SAMUEL CROWTHER,
WHO,
WITH THE SANCTION OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT,
ACCOMPANIED THE
EXPEDITION UP THE NIGER,
IN 1841,
IN BEHALF OF THE
Church Missionary Society.
WITH APPENDICES, AND MAP.

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PREFACE.

IN the year 1841, an Expedition, consisting of three Steamers of the Royal Navy, was sent up the Niger by Her Majesty's Government. Their views in entering on this undertaking are thus explained in a Letter from Lord John Russell, then Colonial Secretary, to the Lords of the Treasury, Dec. 26, 1839 :

Her Majesty's Confidential Advisers are compelled to admit the conviction, that it is indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system, calculated to arrest the Foreign Slave-trade in its source, by counteracting the principles by which it is now sustained. Although it may be impossible to check the cupidity of those who purchase slaves for exportation from Africa, it may yet be possible to force on those by whom they are sold, the persuasion that they are engaged in a traffic opposed to their own interests, when correctly understood.

With this view, it is proposed to establish new commercial relations with those African Chiefs or Powers, within whose dominions the internal Slave-trade of Africa is carried on,

and the external Slave-trade supplied with its victims. To this end, the Queen has directed her Ministers to negotiate conventions or agreements with those Chiefs and Powers; the basis of which conventions would be—1st, The abandonment and absolute prohibition of the Slave-trade; and, 2dly, The admission for consumption in this country, on favourable terms, of goods, the produce or manufacture of the territories subject to them. Of those Chiefs, the most considerable rule over the countries adjacent to the Niger and its great tributary streams. It is therefore proposed to despatch an Expedition, which would ascend that river by steam-boats, as far as the points at which it receives the confluence of some of the principal rivers falling into it from the eastward. At these, or at any other stations which may be found more favourable for the promotion of a legitimate commerce, it is proposed to establish British Factories; in the hope that the Natives may be taught, that there are methods of employing the population more profitable to those to whom they are subject, than that of converting them into slaves, and selling them for exportation to the slave-traders.

In this communication it would be out of place, and indeed impracticable, to enter upon a full detail of the plan itself—of the ulterior measures to which it may lead—or of the reasons which induce Her Majesty's Government to believe that it may eventually lead to the substitution of an innocent and profitable commerce for that traffic by which the Continent of Africa has so long been desolated. For my immediate purpose, it will be sufficient to say, that having maturely weighed these questions, and with a full perception of the difficulties which may attend this undertaking, the Ministers of the Crown are yet convinced that it affords the best, if not the only prospect of accomplishing the great

object so earnestly desired by the Queen, by her Parliament, and her People *.

It is probable that Sir T. F. Buxton's important Work, "THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE AND ITS REMEDY," contributed to fix the attention of the Government strongly on the subject; and to prove to them, that other measures, in addition to those previously adopted, were necessary, in order to terminate that trade in man which had so long and so deeply afflicted Africa.

The formation, too, in 1839, of THE SOCIETY FOR THE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE, AND FOR THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA, and the proceedings of its Committee, were calculated to sustain the Government in the course which they contemplated, by powerfully influencing public opinion in favour of measures directed to check and ultimately to extinguish the Slave-trade, by the substitution of legitimate commerce, and the encouragement of agriculture.

The attention of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society was naturally drawn to this enlightened and benevolent attempt on the part of the British Government to benefit Africa; and they were encouraged to indulge the hope that the

* Parliamentary Papers No. 57, Session 1840.

Expedition might open the way for carrying on Missionary operations in the interior of that continent, through the medium of one of her noblest rivers. They therefore applied to Lord John Russell for permission to send with the Expedition two persons connected with the Church Missionary Society, in order to collect such information, during its progress, as might enable them to decide, on valid grounds, on the practicability and expediency of forming a Mission up the Niger, should the general results of the Expedition favour, and the pecuniary means of the Society admit, of such an extension of its operations.—The request of the Committee was most kindly granted.—The individuals selected by them to accompany the Expedition were, the Rev. James Frederick Schön, and Mr. Samuel Crowther.

Mr. Schön had spent ten years in Sierra Leone, in the zealous discharge of his duties as a Missionary of the Society. He had thus become intimately acquainted with the African character, and had acquired some knowledge of the Native Languages. He had also had his mind turned toward the Niger Expedition, and the prospects of improving, through it, the condition of the Natives of Africa, by imparting to them the

Gospel of Christ, and the social blessings which are the sure concomitants of the cordial reception of it.

Samuel Crowther is an African, about thirty-three years of age. He is of the Eyò Nation, situated in the vicinity of the Niger. He was sold into slavery, to the Portuguese, in 1821, when about eleven years of age*. The slaver to which he was consigned having been captured by a British Cruiser, he was carried into Sierra Leone. This brought him under the instructions of the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society; and by their instructions he has, through the blessing of God, much benefitted. Of his religious character the Committee have every reason to hope well; and his attainments, under many disadvantages, are such as to have encouraged them to invite him to this country, with the view to his admission to Holy Orders, for Missionary labours in his own country, should the Bishop of London deem him qualified for the Ministry.

* The particulars of this part of his history were some years ago detailed by himself, in a Letter to one of the Secretaries of the Society. This Narrative, which strikingly develops the atrocities and miseries of the Slave-trade, is printed at the end of this Volume—APPENDIX III.

Mr. Schön and Samuel Crowther joined the Expedition, on its touching at Sierra Leone. Mr. Schön was placed in the "Wilberforce," and Samuel Crowther in the "Soudan."

The proceedings of the Expedition, and the distressing effects of the climate on the Europeans engaged in it—which compelled its premature return to the sea—are detailed in the Journals which compose the principal part of the Volume. To these Journals are added two Letters: one from Mr. Schön, and one from Samuel Crowther. These explain their respective views as to the results of the Expedition, and the measures best calculated for the evangelization of Africa.

That the Expedition failed, to a considerable extent, of attaining the object for which it was sent out, cannot be denied. On the other hand, the documents now submitted to the public prove that it has not been unattended with advantage:—

1. The Chiefs in the interior of Africa have had the British Nation and character brought before them in a point of view in which they were unknown before. They had previously known us too well as agents in the nefarious traffic in men. Now we have been seen and recognised as benefactors—visiting them at a great sacrifice of life

and money, solely to promote their benefit, by the substitution of agriculture and lawful commerce, and all the conveniences and comforts which spring from them, in the place of a trade scarcely less injurious to the slave-traders than to the victims of slavery themselves.

2. The point of view in which our national character was thus presented to the Chiefs visited by the Expedition, together with the communications held with them, had the effect of disposing them cheerfully to make treaties with us for the abolition of the Slave-trade. Views on the nature and consequence of this traffic were presented to their minds, of which they were before ignorant; but the truth of which, when thus presented to them, there is reason to believe they felt as well as acknowledged.

On this head Mr. Schön remarks, in his Journal—

I always observed, that whenever the motives were explained to them by which England or English People were actuated in their exertions to abolish the Slave-trade, every advocate of it was silenced; and those who had before defended it would stand before us convicted in their own consciences of crimes of the blackest tinge, and would blush as much as Black people can blush. “We knew no better,”
they

they would often say : “ hitherto we thought it was so God’s will, that Black people should be slaves to White people. White people first told us we should sell slaves to them, and we sold them ; and White people are now telling us not to sell slaves, and we will not sell them again :” and, as another justly added, “ If White people give up buying, Black people will give up selling*.”

A foundation has thus been laid for future measures in the same direction.

3. The Expedition has been the means of making us better acquainted with the languages and dialects of the tribes on the banks of the Niger and in the interior of Africa. This is a point of much importance. If Christianity and Civilization are to be extensively imparted to Africa, the principal native languages must be employed as the media for that purpose. Before they can be so employed, these languages must be learned and reduced to writing by Europeans. Much valuable information, in subserviency to that end, has been acquired by means of the Expedition†.

4. The intercourse carried on by the Expedition with the Chiefs has served deeply to impress their minds with the superiority which White Man’s knowledge gives him over Black

* Page 70.

† See Appendix II, pp. 355—357.

Man. The consequence is natural. They desire "White-Man's Book;" that is, they are desirous to receive Teachers from White Men, that they may thus become possessed of their knowledge, and of that power and those numerous advantages which knowledge, they clearly perceive, carries along with it. An important step in advance is thus gained for the future Missionary Teacher.

5. Another result of the Niger Expedition is, the proof which it has supplied of the willingness of the people, and of the Chiefs themselves, to receive religious instruction from Black Men, even from such as they knew had been sold into slavery. This fact is of very great importance, in its bearing on the propagation of Christianity in Africa. It must be conceded, that the Niger Expedition has shown that European agency cannot be successfully employed to any considerable extent for the accomplishment of that great end. It is therefore not a little consolatory to have ascertained, at the same time, that Natives, as Religious Teachers, are acceptable to Natives; and that, consequently, there is every encouragement for the employment of them. The following passage, from Mr. Schön's Journal, illustrates this remark :—

Aug. 28.—The business with Obi commenced again early this morning, on board the “Albert.” The object for which I had come to this country was not forgotten: on the contrary, I admired Capt. Trotter’s anxiety that all should be fully explained to him. Obi confessed that he did not know God, nor the right way of worshipping Him; and expressed an earnest desire that Teachers should be sent to him and his people. We could make him no decided promise that White Missionaries would ever settle in his dominions; but expressed our belief that we could get good people, who spoke his own language, and had learned to know God and to worship Him, at Sierra Leone; at which he was much pleased. An English and an Arabic Bible were presented to him, though he cannot read either of them: persons may come, however, to his town who may be able to make proper use of them. I opened the English Bible, and made Simon Jonas read a few verses to him, and translate them into Ibo. The verses he read were some of the Beatitudes of Our Saviour, in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew. Obi was uncommonly taken with this. That a White Man could read and write, was a matter of course; but that a Black man—an Ibo man—a slave in times past—should know these wonderful things too, was more than he could ever have anticipated. He seized Simon’s hand, squeezed it most heartily, and said, “You must stop with me: you must teach me and my people. The White people can go up the river without you: they may leave you here until they return, or until other people come;” and he would not be satisfied, until Simon had made his desire known to Capt. Trotter. After much consideration, it was agreed that he should remain here till our return from the interior.

6. The Niger Expedition, by establishing the facts just adverted to, has strengthened the obligation to train Natives of Africa as Religious Teachers of their countrymen. The necessity of this course, in order to the Evangelization of Africa, had long been felt by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and means had already been employed by them in Sierra Leone directed to this end; but the adoption by them of further measures for the attainment of the object may be mentioned as a consequence of the Niger Expedition; for after communication with Mr. Schön, on his return to England from the Coast of Africa, they, on the 22d of February last, adopted the following Resolution:—

That, adverting to the afflictive results of the Niger Expedition, and the position of the Society in Sierra Leone, the Committee are of opinion that further measures should be adopted, in order to train Natives in Sierra Leone with a view to their being employed as Teachers of their countrymen, and in order also to fix the most considerable native dialects, and make translations into those dialects for Missionary purposes.

Such are some of the beneficial results which may be fairly attributed to the Niger Expedition, notwithstanding its admitted failure as

to the attainment of much that was anticipated from it*.

The necessity of a Native Agency for ameliorating the religious and social condition of Africa being manifest, it may not be unsuitable to explain a little more fully the views of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society as to the means best calculated, under the Divine Blessing, for the attainment of the object.

In order to an effective Native Agency, as Religious Teachers in West Africa, three things are requisite:—

1. Due educational training of hopeful Native Youths.
2. The reducing to writing of the principal Native Languages of Western Africa; and the

* With regard to the loss of valuable lives during the progress of the Expedition—and afflicting indeed has the loss been—it has been pertinently observed: “It is surely very unjust to press more heavily on the misfortunes of pure unmixed benevolence, than on those of mere gain. There is something very ungenerous, in charging a plan for the extinction of the greatest evil that ever afflicted humanity, with calamities, which, had they occurred in an ordinary enterprise of commerce, would either have attracted no notice at all, or only that of commiseration and sympathy.”—*African Civilization Report*, 1842.

giving instruction in them, grammatically, to Youths to whom they are vernacular.

3. The making Translations, especially of the Scriptures, into the languages so reduced to writing, for the use of Missionaries and Teachers.

The Committee are of opinion that Sierra Leone possesses some peculiar advantages for carrying out these views :—

1. In that Colony a large proportion of the Africans liberated from Slave-ships have been located. They, of course, bring with them their respective languages. These languages or dialects amount, Mr. Schön estimates, to forty ; and include the principal of those used by the tribes of Western Africa. It is, too, a remarkable circumstance, that the Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone cling to, and consequently retain, the language which is to them respectively vernacular. Hence the opportunity is presented of acquiring and fixing in Sierra Leone, for Missionary purposes, the principal languages of Western Africa. This very important advantage is possessed by Sierra Leone, incomparably beyond any other spot whatever. It is calculated that three or four of these languages would suffice to carry the Christian

Teacher to the most considerable tribes on the Niger and Tshadda; and that two others would enable him to penetrate from Sierra Leone to Timbuctoo.

2. Many of the Liberated Africans in Sierra Leone have learned English in the Society's Schools, and have acquired more or less general as well as religious knowledge. The person employed in fixing a given language would thus be materially aided in his work, as he would be able to prosecute it in connexion with those between whom and himself English was a common medium of communication.

3. The Missionaries of the Society have already been engaged to some extent in acquiring and fixing the languages of West Africa, by means of their intercourse with the Liberated Africans congregated in Sierra Leone. Some progress has already been made in the Bullom, the Sherbro', the Timmanee, the Susoo, the Aku, the Yaruba, and the Haussa*. The Committee have now devolved this branch of labour specifically upon certain Missionaries in Sierra Leone, of aptitude for lingual and philological pursuits,

* An extensive Vocabulary of the Haussa, by Mr. Schön, is now in the Press.

besides engaging the service of one individual exclusively as a linguist.

4. Among the Liberated Africans of Sierra Leone there is a strong and natural desire to return to the countries from whence they were carried into slavery. The advancement which many of them have made in religious knowledge and social improvement fit them for returning to their native places, with the prospect of benefitting their countrymen, by imparting to them the advantages which they have themselves acquired in Sierra Leone. Hence a strong inducement to them to promote the views of the Committee, both with regard to education and the native languages.

5. The general result of the Society's Mission in Sierra Leone may also be referred to, as facilitating the carrying out of the views of the Committee, in training Natives as Religious Teachers. This Mission was commenced in 1804. In addition to the usual obstacles to the success of a Christian Mission among an uncivilized people, still more formidable ones were encountered in this instance, arising out of the insalubrity of the climate to Europeans. Great, in consequence, have been the difficulties of this Mission, and many its afflictions; yet it has pleased God signally

to bless the labours of the Teachers employed in it. Though they have not been in numbers sufficient to occupy all the villages in the Colony, yet, out of a population of upward of 42,000 of Coloured Persons, as exhibited in the Census of 1840, the Returns from the Mission, made up to the 31st of December last, represented the religious state and advantages of the people, under the charge of the Society's Missionaries and Catechists, as follows:—

- 12 Ordained Missionaries.
- 7 European Catechists.
- 1 Surgeon.
- 1 Linguist.
- 36 Native Teachers.
- 50 Schools.
- 5949 Scholars.
- 1414 Communicants.
- 1 Seminary for training Native Teachers.
- 27 Seminarists.

The Rev. D. F. Morgan, Colonial Chaplain, thus describes the beneficial influence of Missionary labours in Sierra Leone, in a Sermon* preached at St. George's Church, Freetown, June 28, 1841, on occasion of the Expedition touching there:—

When the attention is directed to the moral aspect of the Colony, whither it ought to be directed, the impression

* Published by Sceley, Fleet Street.

which the scene leaves on the mind is one of pleasing astonishment. The effects, instead of falling short, I think, far exceed the means employed, so as to leave no doubt of the blessing of Heaven having rested on past efforts; which proves the susceptibility of the Africans for improvement. The Christian aspect of the villages exhibits a most engaging sight, and forces the exclamation, "What hath God wrought!" The success of Scriptural Education, accompanied with Missionary labours, has nowhere been surpassed in the history of modern Christianity.

The work is not artificial and illusory, but sober, gradual, deep, and may therefore be expected to be permanent and progressive. On this ground I take my stand, and fearlessly invite the scrutiny of the most sceptical doubter, and of the most inveterate foe; and direct him to the Schools and to the Churches, and to the cottages of the Christian Africans, and then leave him to his own conclusions*.

* A gentleman, well known for his philanthropic exertions in behalf of the Slaves, lately visited this Colony, and gave the most flattering testimony to the state of education. After examining one of the Church Missionary Schools, he said to the writer: "I was not at all prepared to expect what I have just witnessed. I have visited schools in my own country, in the West Indies, and in other parts of the world; but I must confess that in all my experience I have never seen a better regulated school. The readiness with which the children answered questions put to them, their advancement in general knowledge, and the intelligence they evinced, surpassed every thing I recollect to have seen before." Upon the writer asking again if he thought the school in every respect equal to any he had visited in the large provincial towns:—"Yes; and you may include London too. It is impossible," was his emphatic expression, "but that such schools must do much good."—*Sermon*, pp. 18, 19.

Without inquiring here, whether the original selection of Sierra Leone, as a point for exerting a beneficial influence on the religious and social condition of Africa, was a judicious one or not—or whether due means have been employed for developing the agricultural capabilities of the Colony, and improving the state of the Liberated Africans located there*—the influence of the Mission upon the people, and their comparative advancement in religious and social improvement, is unquestionable, and point out Sierra Leone as offering a decidedly advantageous theatre for

* On these heads, however, Mr. Morgan, ten years Colonial Chaplain of Sierra Leone, thus speaks in the Sermon already quoted:—

This colony was selected as the base of operations, whence the light of Civilization and Christianity was to issue forth into the surrounding countries. But the friends of Africa have always been taunted with its utter failure in answering the expectations that had been raised, and producing effects at all corresponding with the expenditure laid out upon it. I will not stop to inquire whether or not these expectations were too sanguine in comparison with the means employed. But the taunt itself, founded on a wilful miscalculation of contingent circumstances, betrays the enmity in which it originates. Whereas a fair and just calculation of the whole of the proceedings, and a correct estimate of present appearances, compared with a sober and legitimate expectation founded upon the nature and amount of the means employed, and the mode of their application, must lead to a modification of such an opinion, if not to a complete change.

The

raising the African in intelligence, and those moral and social habits whereby he may become a fitted instrument for meliorating the condition of his countrymen.

In accordance with the views already explained, the Committee propose to enlarge their present Seminary, which is eligibly situated at Fourah Bay, near Freetown, so as to receive an increased number of Students, and to give them a sound, general, and religious education. X.

The existing buildings are not only too small for this purpose, but are so dilapidated as to render a re-erection on that account unavoidable. The cost of the buildings requisite for the accommodation of two Masters and thirty Students would exceed

The usual method of judging on the subject is highly unfair; for no careful separation is made between the amount expended in connexion with the abolition of slavery, and what is laid out by Government in the improvement of the Colony . . .

The funds applied to the improvement of the Liberated Africans, subsequently to their emancipation, have been extremely limited. No encouragement whatever has been held out to industry in the cultivation of the ground: no capital has been expended in teaching the rearing of any of those staple commodities for the English market which the soil is ready to yield. Arriving in the colony in a condition of the most abject wretchedness, just rescued from the horrors of slavery, the re-captured Negro is almost immediately thrown upon his own resources, in
a state

£2000. Notwithstanding the deep conviction of the Committee of the necessity for the good of Africa of the Educational measures which have been explained, the state of the Society's funds precludes the erection of the buildings necessary for the object out of the regular income of the Society. Under these circumstances, the Committee have directed that a Special Fund should be opened for defraying the expenses of the buildings required; and that an appeal should be made to the Members of the Society and to the friends of Africa for their contributions in aid of the object. This appeal is inserted at the end of this Volume*.

Regarding the knowledge and reception of the Gospel of Christ as alone constituting an effectual remedy of the wrongs and miseries which from

a state of society too new for any to have acquired sufficient wealth to engage the labours of others, which would enable the rich to enlarge his property, and would give employment and the means of subsistence to the poor. Accumulation of property in agricultural pursuits is slow; and without it there can be no cultivation on an extensive and profitable scale. Private enterprise has never been directed to this colony, which in other places has given impulse to industry, and imparted the means of improvement. With these disadvantages there is no legitimate ground for expecting any rapid advancement, and its absence should not create disappointment.—*Sermon*, pp. 15 - - 17.

* Appendix IV.

generation to generation have degraded, demoralized, and devastated Africa, we close these remarks with the following passage from Sir T. F. Buxton's work, in which, toward the close of the "REMEDY," he records this as his deliberate judgment:—

From these facts, gathered from different sources, the inference does not appear by any means doubtful, that whatever methods may be attempted for ameliorating the condition of untutored man, Christianity alone can penetrate to the root of the evil—can teach him to love and to befriend his neighbour—and cause him to act as a *candidate* for a higher and holier state of being.

The hope, therefore, of effecting Africa's civilization, and of inducing her tribes to relinquish the trade in man, is, without this assistance, utterly vain. This mighty lever, when properly applied, can alone overturn the iniquitous systems which prevail throughout that continent. Let Missionaries and Schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go together, and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened; confidence between man and man will be inspired; whilst Civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity operate as the proximate cause, of this happy change.

If, indeed, it be true that such effects will follow in the train of Religion, and that Christianity alone can effect such changes and produce such blessings, then must we pause before we take a single step without it. The cause of Africa involves interests far too great, and results far too stupendous, to be trifled with. The destinies of unborn millions, as well as of the millions who now exist, are at stake in the

project ; and the question is one of life or of death, of comfort and happiness or of unutterable misery.

I believe that Christianity will meet the necessities of the case, and will prove a specific remedy for the moral evils of Africa *.

CHURCH MISSIONARY HOUSE,
Sept. 29, 1842.

* "*The African Slave Trade and its Remedy*," by T. F. Buxton, Esq., pp. 510, 511.

THE Rt. Hon. the LORDS OF THE ADMIRALTY kindly authorised the publication, by the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, of Messrs. Schön's and Crowther's Journals.

JOURNAL

OF THE

REV. JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN.

JOURNAL

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

ARRIVAL OF THE EXPEDITION AT SIERRA LEONE—NATIVE INTERPRETERS ENGAGED FOR THE EXPEDITION—INTEREST IN ITS SUCCESS EVINCED BY THE NEGROES AND OTHERS — DEPARTURE FROM SIERRA LEONE—ARRIVAL AT MONROVIA, CAPE MESURADO—DEPARTURE FROM MONROVIA — VISIT TO GREENWELL, AN AMERICAN SETTLEMENT NEAR THE RIVER SINOE — ACCOUNT OF A REMARKABLE HEATHENISH CEREMONY— DIALECT OF THE BLUE-BARRA PEOPLE — NOTICES OF CAPE PALMAS AND DIX COVE—ARRIVAL AT CAPE-COAST CASTLE, AND PROCEEDINGS THERE— EXAMINATION OF SCHOOLS— INTEREST EVINCED BY THE GOVERNOR IN THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE— CASES OF FEVER— TRANSFER OF REV. J. F. SCHÖN TO THE WILBERFORCE—VISIT TO ENGLISH ACCRA—REFLECTIONS—ARRIVAL AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER NUN.

SIERRA LEONE, *June* 24, 1841 — I was informed early this morning, by several of my friends, that a Steamer was in sight; and shortly afterward, I received the certain intelligence of the arrival of the “Albert,” Capt. H. D. Trotter. The long-expected Expedition appeared, at first, to have arrived very unseasonably for me, my dear wife having hardly recovered from a severe illness. I thought it best not to make known the circumstance, until I had committed myself and mine

into the arms of Divine Mercy, and sought direction as to my proceeding; feeling convinced that I should not be forsaken. This being done, I approached the bed of my afflicted partner, and made her acquainted with the arrival of the vessels. She was not taken by surprise; but on the contrary, and to my astonishment, calmly replied: "Oh! I will bear it. Never mind me: I am only sorry that I cannot assist you more in getting ready. Leave me: go on with your business. God will take care of me."—To find her in such a frame of mind was very cheering to me. I knew well that flesh and blood could not have given it to her, and that it was an answer to many prayers. I learned to understand anew, that it was the will of God that I should engage in this important work. Hitherto the Lord has removed all obstacles, and has given me more than ordinary strength to prosecute my preparations for it; and although I more than ever feel my unfitness, I am not dismayed: I can lay hold on the precious promises of God, and will go on my way rejoicing.

On the following days, I assisted Captain Trotter in selecting Interpreters of the various languages spoken on the banks of the Niger and in the

adjacent countries. Twelve persons were engaged for that purpose, of the following nations: Haussa, Ibo, Kakanda, Yaruba, Bornoa, Laruba, Filatah, and Eggarra. Time only will prove whether we have made a proper selection; and all further remarks on them may be postponed, until they shall have been called upon to act in those spheres of labour to which they are appointed. Those who had attended me for the last ten months, and from whom I had acquired some knowledge of the Ibo and Haussa Languages, remained faithful to their promise, and were willing to accompany the Expedition, whatever their pecuniary remuneration might be. How well would it have been, had more been trained for this important work. It is still very desirable that others should be taken under a course of instruction, to be ready for another opportunity of a similar nature. There was no want of people who were willing, and even anxious, to leave Sierra Leone, in order to join the Expedition. Seamen, labourers, interpreters, and mechanics, such as they were, offered their services in great abundance; though I am afraid they were not all actuated by proper motives. Of some who were chosen, I have reason to believe that it is their

hearts' desire to render themselves useful to their fellow-creatures, and to make known to them *the unsearchable riches of Christ*.

The Expedition caused great excitement among all classes; and the most cheering manifestation of it was, that a spirit of prayer seemed to have been poured out upon all Denominations of Christians for its success. On the 28th of June, Divine Service was held at St. George's Church, Free-town, by the Rev. D. F. Morgan, Colonial Chaplain, who delivered a most excellent Sermon on the occasion, well deserving a wider circulation. In the afternoon, a Prayer Meeting was held in the same Church, which was well attended. The Gentlemen of the Expedition addressed a few words to the people, explaining the objects of their Mission, and asking an interest in their prayers. Oh may that Spirit which animated them then, never leave them! May they, myself, and all, ever be mindful of this, that it is *not by might nor by power*, but by the gracious influence of the Spirit of God, that alone success can be expected.

By the kindness of Captain Trotter, a cabin in his own department was prepared for my occupation, until we should arrive at Cape-Coast Castle. I took possession of it on the 2d of July,

the day fixed upon for our departure. My feelings were such as are common to all, when called upon to leave those whom they love most dearly on earth; but I was abundantly supported by the consolations which Christians alone can experience; and could, with all calmness of mind, cast my care upon the Lord, knowing that He careth for me. My own conscience bore me witness that I was actuated by a concern for the salvation of the poor, oppressed, and benighted Africans; and that I should feel abundantly rewarded for any self-denial and privation I might have to endure, if I could but be in the smallest degree useful to them.

July 3—Slept but little during the night. My mind was much occupied. I felt that I was in a situation altogether new to me. On rising, I once more saw the coast of Sierra Leone, and the Banana Islands. I began to translate Haussa; but was soon obliged to relinquish it, on account of sea-sickness. I could not keep in my cabin; feeling better on deck, where I could enjoy fresh air. In the evening, we met the "Ferret," a British ship-of-war, cruising along the coast, near the Turtle Island, belonging to the Sherbro Country. We were sorry to learn that there was much

sickness on board; and that the Captain himself, besides sixteen men, were laid up with fever.

A serious accident occurred this evening. An able seaman, Samuel Johnson, fell from the mast, and expired a few moments after. This is the first accident on board the "Albert," since it left England; but the "Wilberforce" and the "Soudan" had each lost a man, in a similar manner, before. —What a sudden call from time to eternity! May it lead all of us to make our *calling and election sure*, and be ready whenever we shall be called hence!

July 4: Lord's Day—Felt very unwell all day; confined to my bed the principal part of it: could take no active part in the Religious Services, nor join the company in worshipping God; but was able to read a little in my cabin, and to hold communion with my God. The weather becoming very fine in the afternoon, I was delighted with the sight of Cape Mount, the northern extremity of the Colony of Liberia: the prospect of being permitted to put my feet again on solid ground next morning cheered my spirits not a little.

July 5—When I got up this morning, I observed that we were fast approaching Cape Mesurado. The town of Monrovia presented a

lovely view from the sea. We cast anchor close to the Bar, about 8 o'clock A.M. The Kroomen* were the first to welcome us, coming out in their little canoes. Heavy rain began to fall, which prevented us from landing for about two hours. A small boat soon arrived, with a kind invitation from the Governor of the Colony to the Commander and any of the Officers. Captain Trotter kindly allowed me to embrace the first opportunity to go ashore. The Bar is extremely bad: we were nearly upset; and twice got aground, the waves washing our backs: I did not, therefore, feel very comfortable, until we had reached the shore. Governor Buchanan received me very kindly. In his house I met a Missionary from Cape Palmas, connected with the American Episcopal Church: he is on his way to Sierra Leone, for the recovery of his health! I visited the Episcopal Methodist Missionaries at the place;

* The common spelling of this word is kept in this Journal, though the writer is satisfied of its incorrectness. The nation from which these African sailors are selected is called Grebo. Grebos, or Grebomen, would, therefore, be preferable. Kroomen, or *Crewmen*—men composing the crew—appears to be derived from their occupation. Others of the same nation are called Fishmen; the origin of which is evidently English, referring likewise to their occupation.

Dr. Goheen, and Mr. Burton, the Superintendent of the Seminary. As the students were absent, I could not ascertain what progress they had made in those branches of science in which they are instructed. I regretted this the more, as there was no Day School open, which I might have seen.

July 6—The weather has been very bad to-day : continual rain. No one, that was not obliged, went on shore. We left Monrovia about 7 o'clock P.M. . *July 10*—The intervening days presented little of interest. I have felt in a great measure the inconvenience of a seafaring life. My cabin has been hot; the deck wet; and repeated attacks of sea-sickness have indisposed me for mental exertion. I could commence something very zealously in the morning; but have been generally obliged soon to lay it aside again. To-day, particularly so, I was obliged to keep on deck; and was therefore very glad, when, at 3 o'clock P.M., we cast anchor near the river called Sinoë. Our object is to procure fire-wood; as our stock of coals is nearly consumed, and the wind still against us. There was no vessel in the harbour; and no person was seen for some time, except Kroomen and Fishmen, who came out

in their little canoes, with plantains and bananas for sale.

July 11: Lord's Day—We spent a quiet Sabbath on board. Divine Service was performed, in the morning by myself, and in the evening by Rev. T. Müller.

July 12—I accompanied Captain Trotter and some other gentlemen to see the American Settlement, called Greenwell, the immediate neighbourhood of which is peopled by Kroomen, Fishmen, and Blue-Barra People. The Settlement was founded in 1838; when thirty-eight emigrants arrived from America, and were located at this place. Four of them died soon after, of the country fever. The common impression, however, about them was, that they killed themselves; either in having eaten too much, or in refusing to take medicine, &c.—There is a great inclination, not only in the Americans, but in others too, to disprove the unhealthiness of the climate, in spite of daily experience and observation; for which I am unable to account. But I cannot easily be deceived by such expressions. I have seen too much of Africa, and its injurious effects upon European as well as upon American constitutions, to feel justified in allowing such

charges against the poor victims which sunk under the climate;—and why not admit the truth?

From Greenwell I went to a small village of Fishmen, situated N.W. of the Settlement; where I witnessed an interesting ceremony of native superstition, which well deserves a page in my Journal. I much regret, that, not understanding the language of the Fishmen, I cannot determine the exact meaning of the transaction. In a large open space, between several houses, there was a considerable number of Natives, of both sexes and all ages, assembled. Two women had seated themselves under the projecting roof of a native dwelling-house, with musical instruments—that is, small calabashes garnished with iron and brass rings and hooks—in their hands; from which they dexterously produced the same sound continually, accompanying their instruments with vocal music, singing the same sentences over and over again. On their left hand was an old man, sitting on the ground, beating a drum made of the trunk of a tree merely hollowed out. In front of them was a small fire; to the right of which was a heap of charms of various kinds; as, horns, claws, teeth

and skins of animals, filthy pieces of calico, &c. There was also a country mortar, such as is generally used by the Natives to beat their rice in, containing a little water, with some herbs or leaves, and earth, beaten up in it. The music having continued for some time, a woman, of about forty or forty-five years of age, stepped forward, placing herself before the mortar above described. Her legs were covered, almost to her knees, with iron rings—whether as an ornament or a punishment I cannot say: to me they would, undoubtedly, have proved the latter. Another woman then placed herself on the other side of the mortar, and with both her hands took out some of its contents, smearing it over the other woman's face, chest, back, arms, and legs. This being done, the person thus marked, decorated, or sullied, whatever it may be called, began dancing about in a small circle for a few minutes, occasionally blowing a large horn. An old man now made his appearance, and put a few questions to the dancing-woman; which, if I am not mistaken, were always answered in the affirmative; while the eyes of the woman appeared faint, and an unnatural perspiration covered her whole body. The old man then took two white

fowls, a cock and a hen, and, speaking in a low and mysterious voice, handed them over to the great actress. He placed them first under her left arm; after which she lifted them up with both hands, showing them to all the people assembled. She then took a few grains of rice, and scattered them among the charms which were lying in front of him, placed a few grains on the musical instruments, and held the heads of the fowls near the rice, which they picked up eagerly. It appeared to me that the people were pleased at this; and the fowls were removed out of sight, alive. A young kid was now brought forward by the same old man, and presented to the woman, who tried whether it would eat rice; but not a single grain being eaten, she handed it over to the old man; who, after murmuring a few unintelligible words—not addressed to any body, as far as I could observe—seized it by its hind legs, and with all his strength struck its head three or four times on the ground: then, turning it swiftly round, he seized its head with both hands, and knocked its body several times on the ground with such violence, that every bone of the poor creature must have been broken. When the kid was dead, the people walked off, and the ceremony

seemed to be over. A Fishman told me that the people would now sit down quietly, and eat and drink.

Three explanations were given of the meaning of the affair. The first was, that the woman, having been accused of witchcraft, had been obliged to drink the "saucey water," as it is called, prepared from the bark of a tree, and containing poisonous qualities; and as it did not kill her, her innocence was clearly proved, and the ceremony was intended to acquit her publicly and honourably of the charge. The second version was, that it was a nuptial feast: and the last, that the woman was a "doctor"; that she had given some medicine to the old man by which he had been benefitted; and that, in return for her services, he presented the fowls, rice, and kid, to her. Which of these versions, or whether any one of them is correct, I could not ascertain.

The neighbourhood of Greenwell, and the banks of the river Sinoë, are inhabited by people who pass under three different names;—the Blue-Barra People, who seem to be the Aborigines of the place; the Fishmen, and Kroomen, who seem to be settlers or emigrants from their own countries, which lie s. e. from this place. They

have all the same marks on their faces, chests, and arms. Some of the American Settlers asserted that they spoke three different languages; while others maintained that one was spoken by all. From the little I have been able to observe, I feel inclined to think that the last assertion deserves more credit than the first. I have endeavoured to take down a few words; and on repeating them to Blue-Barra people, Fishmen, and Kroomen, the result appeared to be in favour of one language for all. It must, however, be admitted, that as they have only been tried with people associated on a small tract of land, and constantly inter-mixing with each other, the evidence is not conclusive. The words are the following: duh, "one"; suh, "two"; tuh, "three"; niě, "four"; mu, "five"; mune duh, "six"; mune suh, "seven"; mune tuh, "eight"; supe duh, "nine"; pua, "ten"; mira, "nose"; nigburu, "man"; nigiro, "woman"; gibē, "boy"; giburuweh, "girl"; bīri, "low"; brabari, "sheep"; boguro, "goat"; shoa, "beef"; ni, "water"; tong, "salt"; hīra, "palm wine"; honi, "sit down"; gēa, "get up"; dieni, "eat"; nnałni, "drink water"; gidemgbo, "come to me"; niri, "ear"; bagara, "hat"; ena tshi

mini? "what do you give me?" ne etshi, "rain comes"; giro, "sun"; tsho, "moon"; trëa, "star"; tu, "canoe"; kwitu, "white man's canoe," "ship."

July 15 — A sufficient quantity of fire-wood being obtained, steam was got up about nine this morning, when we left Sinoë. It was a very fine day, and the air pure and healthy; which had a good effect upon me. I began to feel much better, and gradually lost the uncomfortable sensations which sea-sickness produces. For this I felt thankful to the Author and Giver of every good gift.

July 16—We passed Cape Palmas early this morning. The current is now more in our favour. The weather fine—no rain—as agreeable to me as a fine summer's day in Germany could be. I regret that I had no opportunity of seeing Cape Palmas, and visiting the Missionaries there; especially as this Settlement is said to be the most flourishing of all. It forms a State of itself, and is not dependent on the "Liberia Commonwealth." There are Missionaries of the American Episcopalian Church, and of the Presbyterian Church, at this place. They have done much toward reducing the Grebo Language to writing; and have already printed several

translations of portions of Scripture, and other elementary books. They convey religious instruction to the Natives through the medium of their own language; but pay much attention to the teaching of the English Language also.

July 18: Lord's Day—As our fuel was nearly exhausted, and the current still in our favour, steaming was relinquished this morning, and we sailed along the coast very smoothly all day. The vessel, and all the people, were very clean: I trust all enjoyed the privileges of the day. After Morning Service, we were opposite Fort Dix Cove, belonging to England. About six or eight men came out to us from the shore, in a flat-bottomed canoe. The headman appeared to be an intelligent man, and spoke English very well. His native language is the Ahanta, of which he gave me the numerals to ten. As it was the Lord's Day, I did not feel quite at liberty to require more information of him on languages. I mention them here: aku, "one"; amu, "two"; arra, "three"; arsàh, "four"; ernu, "five"; ashia, "six"; noua, "seven"; awothre, "eight"; aluãro, "nine"; bura, "ten." There is but one European merchant residing at Dix Cove; and for the last three months, an English Missionary, Mr. Watson,

who arrived here from Cape Coast, and is in connexion with the Wesleyan Missionary Society. The articles for trade which they brought along with them, in their canoes, consisted of pine-apples, plantains, sugar-cane, and cassada; but I believe none were purchased of them, it being the Lord's Day. The appearance of the country was very pleasant: the weather hot, but not oppressive. No rain all day.

July 19—Arrived at Cape-Coast Castle at 10 o'clock A.M. Many of the Natives came out to us, in their flat canoes. Their articles of trade consisted of a great abundance of pine-apples, much inferior in flavour to those of Sierra Leone; plantains, bananas, most excellent yams, cassadas, Indian-corn, monkey-skins, beautiful parrots, and nicely-worked baskets.

July 27—I have now spent some days at Cape Coast, and a few observations on it may be expected from me. A description of political affairs, and of its gold and gold-dust, I may safely leave to others better qualified than myself; but I must not omit to mention the kindness and hospitality which I have received at the Governor's hands. I have frequently been on shore, and have observed with pleasure the great influence which

the Governor has obtained over the Natives, even over such as reside at a considerable distance from Cape Coast. They appeal to him in all their quarrels with each other; and generally bow to his decision, and comply with his demands. An instance of the kind happened while we were there, and several of our party were present while the important palaver was settled. As I was only present at the opening of the Court, I prefer leaving the description of it to those who were present from the beginning to the end.

The Governor kindly invited me to accompany him, with several gentlemen of our party, to see an excellent farm, about five miles distant from the Castle, called Napoleon. We went in the Governor's carriages, each of them being drawn by four men of the Fanti Nation; rather a novel mode of conveyance, but by no means disagreeable, especially in the cool of the evening. There is no great choice left to any one who wishes to travel by land in these parts of Africa. There being no horses, one must either be carried in baskets, or drawn in carriages by his fellow men, where the roads will admit of it. Several trials have been made by the

inhabitants to keep horses ; but it is said that none ever lived longer than about four months, owing to the bad quality of the grass on which they are fed. The farm referred to is the property of a merchant at Cape Coast. He has daily employment on it for sixty men, each of whom receives twopence halfpenny sterling per day. It contains several thousand coffee-trees, planted in beautiful order, and full of fruit: there are many more young trees, fit for transplanting the next season. I here saw, for the first time, the bread-fruit-nut-tree, and several West-India plants, which I had long wished to see introduced into Western Africa. I am sorry to add, that the cultivation of cotton has been relinquished, on account of the low price paid for it. One cannot but wish that all the settlements of Europeans on the western coast of Africa were in a similar state of cultivation; as thereby its healthiness might be much improved, and many of the comforts of civilized life might be obtained without much trouble and at little expense; and, in my opinion, Missionary Societies would do well if they were to allow their agents to incur a moderate expense in agricultural pursuits. But great care should always be taken

respecting the choice of situations; and such employments should never engage much of their mind or valuable time. The Missionary ought to be an example, in every thing that is good and laudable, to those to whom he is sent; and they will naturally look to him for direction and advice in all their temporal as well as spiritual concerns. But they will not—in fact, they cannot—believe him to be sincere, however much he may speak to them of the beneficial effects both on body and mind of the labours of the field, as long as they see his own garden overgrown with weeds, and full of every thing that is obnoxious to health and comfort.

I was much pleased with the Boys' School, kept in the Fort, at the expense of the Governor. The scholars read remarkably well; and answered my questions on Bible History and Arithmetic very correctly. It is attended by 150 scholars, of whom some are grown-up young men. The want of slates, to instruct beginners in the art of writing, is supplied by boxes filled with fine sand, in which they learn to form letters. The Wesleyan Missionaries have established a Girls' School, under Mrs. Freeman, which is attended by 50 Girls of the Fanti Nation. The Missio-

naries address the Fanti People through interpreters. Whether any of them had become converts to Christianity, I was not able to ascertain.

Divine Service is performed every Lord's-Day morning, in the Castle, by the Governor himself; but, at his request, I took the Service for him on Lord's Day last. The congregation consisted of the soldiers, school-children, about forty Black people of the town, and two Europeans. The whole demeanour of the congregation evinced that they were in the habit of attending Divine Service regularly. The singing was good, and the responses of the congregation devotional.

The Governor's anxiety for the improvement of Africa is apparent in many things. He keeps a light-house on Fort William: has a small printing-press in the Castle, and a printer employed continually. One of the printer's former apprentices is now employed by the Expedition, without whose aid no use could be made of the printing-press on board. The Governor kindly allowed me to print an Address to the Chiefs and People; which I translated into the Haussa Language, during my passage from Sierra Leone. Here a large field is open for Missionary labours. The Fanti and Ashantee Nations call upon the Christian

< { world, *Come over and help us!* Although they do not actually use these words, yet should not their misery, and their bloody superstitions, loudly speak to the hearts of Christians?

The present season is considered to be the most unhealthy on shore. The rains are over; and there is generally a heavy fog upon the hills in the morning, which gives them an aguish appearance. Every possible attention is paid to health on board our vessels: exposure to the sun, and the dews of the night, are most carefully avoided; and no one of the ship's company is permitted to spend a night on shore. We have hitherto been highly favoured with health on board the "Albert"—not a single case of fever has occurred. I regret to add, that in the "Wilberforce" there were twelve on the sick list last week, chiefly Black men; one died of apoplexy, another of fever, and the rest are considered convalescent. It is supposed that exposure to heavy rain at Grand Bassa, where water and fire-wood were taken in, was the cause of the sickness. There has been one case of fever, too, on board the "Soudan," likewise of a Black man: he is now doing well. The sufferers are principally Blacks
> from the West Indies, or such as have been absent

from Africa for many years.—Our prayer to God is, that He may keep us and bless us in the work in which we are engaged; and while we are daily reminded of the frailty of our nature—the liability to sickness and death—it is a great comfort to know that many of us are delivered from the fear of death, by faith in Him who tasted death for all men, and has brought life and immortality to light.

July 29 — Mr. Walden, a Missionary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, finished his earthly career this evening at Cape-Coast Town: he was ill but a few days. It is painful to observe, that almost every vessel carries home mournful tidings from this coast. How unsearchable are God's ways! The field is prepared for labour; yet scarcely have His servants entered upon it before they are called hence. Truly, those who are anxious to engage in the Missionary work must not count *their own lives dear unto themselves*.

July 30—I left the "Albert" this morning, and took up my abode on board the "Wilberforce." The "Albert" and "Soudan" left Cape Coast this evening.

July 31—The "Wilberforce" left Cape Coast at 9 o'clock P.M., and arrived at English Accra at 2 o'clock P.M. on the following day.

Aug. 2—Her Majesty's Steamer "Pluto" arrived this morning at Accra, from Sierra Leone, and brought me a most welcome letter from my dear wife; which would have been much more so, had not its burden been a mournful one. It contained the intelligence of the death of Mrs. Schmid, the partner of a beloved Missionary Brother. Numerous as have been the calls on my sympathy during my residence at Sierra Leone, I am as susceptible as ever of the feelings which accounts of this kind are calculated to produce; and while endeavouring to meditate upon the gain of the departed, the feelings of a bereaved husband present themselves continually to my mind, reminding me of the duty of offering up prayers and supplications on his behalf. I am ever led to reflect on the deaths of Missionaries, in their connexion with the Missionary work in Africa; and my unbelieving heart seems at times to discover nothing in them but discouragement. And here, where I am writing these lines, every thing appears peculiarly calculated to depress my spirits, and to keep my hopes of Missionary success extremely low. From the window of my cabin, I cast my eyes upon the Danish and English Settlements

of Accra; and the Missionary history of the former place presents itself to my remembrance, from an early period down to the present day. I see, as it were, the faithful Moravian Missionaries suffer and die; the Bâsle Missionaries struggle with difficulties, endure privations and hardships of every description for a few months—two only for a few years—and then, all but one, exchange time for eternity; but can discover no fruit of their self-denying labours.

I spent only a few hours on shore at English Accra; and returned to the vessel with a heavy heart, because of the misery, degradation, and superstition of the inhabitants. In one of the principal streets of the town there is a large Fetish, made of clay, in the shape of a human being, painted white on one side and red on the other, which is worshipped by the Natives. But shall these considerations weigh down my spirit? Shall I allow myself to be overcome with grief and despondency? Yea, if the work were of men, I might; but as it is the work of Him who *must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet*, I dare not despair. Missionaries may die prematurely, to speak after the manner of man; but their Captain *dieth no more; death hath no*

more dominion over Him. He went forth conquering in times past; has subdued many nations, countries, and tribes; and is still going on conquering, and will go on, until *the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord.* The Spirit of the Lord has spoken it, and His testimony is true.

Aug. 4—We left Accra at 10 o'clock P.M., and proceeded with all possible speed toward the mouth of the river Nun.

Aug. 8: Lord's Day—Since the last date, we have been favoured with beautiful weather until to-day, when a tornado made its appearance, about 11 o'clock A.M. I was engaged in performing Divine Service; but was obliged to stop, before I had gone through the Prayers. It cleared up in the afternoon, and we were permitted to join in worship on deck.

Aug. 9—Rain falling in torrents all day. The sea beat through the port-hole of my cabin, thoroughly wetting my bed and cabin; and not a dry spot could be found in the gun-room, to sit down and engage in any thing. We cast anchor, about 8 o'clock A.M., near the river Sangara, mistaking it for the Nun: the error was not discovered until evening, when the rain ceased, and the sky became clear.

Aug. 10—We left our anchoring-place early this morning for the river Nun, a few miles from Sangara. The other vessels being there, preparations for entering the river were commenced, by removing on board the Steamers the stores from the transport accompanying the Expedition to this place. As no assistance could be obtained from the Natives as at other places along the coast, and all had to be done by our own people, much delay was occasioned.

CHAP. II.

ENTRANCE OF THE RIVER NUN — INSTANCES OF SUPERSTITION — THE EXPEDITION COMMENDED TO GOD IN PRAYER—APPEARANCE OF THE BANKS OF THE RIVER—COUNTRY THINLY PEOPLED—STATE OF CULTIVATION — APPROACH OF NATIVES TO THE VESSEL — VISIT OF THE CHIEF OF OTUA—NOTICES OF VILLAGES—LITTLE IBO, AND PROCEEDINGS THERE—OPINIONS OF THE AFRICANS RESPECTING THE SLAVE TRADE—ARRIVAL AT IBO—OPINION AS TO THE SUITABLENESS OF THE SEASON FOR THE EXPEDITION—SUPERSTITIONS AND THEOLOGY OF THE IBOS — INTERVIEWS WITH OBI, THE KING OF IBO — REMARKS ON THE ELIGIBILITY OF IBO FOR A MISSIONARY STATION — DESIRE OF THE KING FOR RELIGIOUS TEACHERS — REMARKS ON IT—TREATY ENTERED INTO WITH OBI — ANECDOTE DESCRIPTIVE OF THE IBOS' IDEAS OF GOD — DEPARTURE FROM IBO — NOTICES OF AKAMARA, BOKENG, AND DAMUGU.

Aug. 15 — To-day, about 10 o'clock A.M., the "Wilberforce" left her anchorage, and crossed the Bar safely, never having less than three fathoms of water; and anchored in the river Nun about 2 o'clock P.M. All were in good health and spirits. The sailors gave three hearty cheers when we had crossed the Bar, and entered in the long-looked-for river. My own feelings differed not much from theirs, though I could not give vent

to them in a similar manner. Our situation had been any thing but comfortable for the last five or six days, the vessels rolling heavily ; but the want of water was the greatest inconvenience. We were sorry to learn that the "Albert," which with the "Soudan" had entered the river two days before, had lost Mr. Bach, by fever, this afternoon. One of our men was taken ill.

Aug. 16—I felt very anxious to see some of the Natives inhabiting the banks of the river ; and my curiosity was in some degree satisfied this forenoon. Two canoes came alongside, with a few oranges, limes, and cocoa-nuts. Their native language is the Brass ; but they understand a little Spanish, showing with what people they used to have intercourse. Empty bottles were gladly received by them in exchange for their fruits : had they been filled with rum, they would have been still more welcome. A three-half-penny piece was a great curiosity to them : each was anxious to see it ; and having got it into his hands, was most reluctant to part with it. Though I have not engaged in the Expedition with a view of getting rich, I had the conscience to accept two cocoa-nuts, when offered to me in return for this piece of money. Rain fell in

torrents this morning; but it was very welcome, as it supplied us with good water.

A pilot came on board this evening, carrying his credentials with him in a peculiar manner, the first of the kind I have ever seen. Around the wrist of his left hand was a ring of ivory, on which the following words were engraved:—"Jane Bart, a good pilot to the Crown. Pilot to the Nun River, R. H. Fuge, 1833." I inquired in vain how it could be removed; since it was all one piece, and could not have been put on without causing him much pain and inconvenience: there is no possibility of taking it off, without breaking it.

The first thing which the Natives usually ask for, is their favourite rum; and to this the pilot was not an exception: he could not be prevailed upon to leave till he had had a glass. But before he put it to his lips, he took care to pour out a few drops on deck, showing his attention to the superstitious notions of his heart. Should this practice be objected to on account of its waste, it may, in their favour, be observed, that the waste is not great: they take good care not to deprive themselves of much. This custom prevails among many of the tribes of Africa,

and is observed with religious punctuality. Its origin or intention is uncertain; but I am inclined to think that the Sherbro People have given me the most satisfactory solution of it. In observing this ceremony, they generally say, "Koo, bana!" ("To the old people!") meaning their ancestors, now in another world. It thus appears that they consider them in need of their assistance; which is further evident from several things which I have observed among the Sherbro People, and which I may here notice. They are in the habit of carrying rice and other eatables to the graves of their departed friends; and frequently, in cold or wet nights, they will light a fire on them. Now, whatever the origin of such practices may be, it appears to me that they prove several things which ought not to be overlooked. In my judgment, it may fairly be concluded from them, first, that they believe in a future existence; and, secondly, that there is the continuation of a certain relationship between the dead and the living.

Aug. 20—The long-looked-for day for entering upon our Mission has arrived. The preparations for ascending the river being completed, steam was got up early this morning, and we left our

anchorage. A sensation of joy and gladness pervaded the whole party; all was life and activity in the vessels; while, on the other hand, the importance of the undertaking was deeply felt, and the need of seeking counsel of Him, who is *the only wise God*, was not overlooked. I was deeply impressed with the necessity of dedicating myself anew to God, and of supplicating His blessing upon myself and all my companions; and I trust I can truly say, that the joy which animated my soul was not merely that of the enterprising traveller in the prospect of seeing countries hitherto but little known, strange habits, and customs of the nations; but that of the Missionary, who considers this undertaking as the first step toward the introduction of the glorious Gospel into the heart of Africa;—and oh that these hopes may soon be realized!

An excellent Prayer was composed by the Rev. T. Müller, Chaplain to the Expedition, and offered up this morning on board all the vessels, by order of the Commander of the Expedition. It well deserves a page in my Journal, as it will show in what spirit the work was entered upon; and therefore I subjoin a copy of it:—

O Lord our God, the Father of all men, and in Jesus Christ our Father! we, thy unworthy servants, come before Thee this morning with a new song in our mouths—with prayer and thanksgiving to our God. Hitherto Thou hast not only holpen us; but, *as a father pitieth his children*, and as a shepherd feedeth and guideth his flock, so hast Thou been unto us a Merciful Father, a Good Shepherd, and an Ever-present-help in the time of need. Thy goodness and mercy have been new toward us every morning: blessed and praised be Thy holy name! We feel assured, Almighty Father, that it were in vain to hope for success in our present undertaking, without asking counsel of the Lord, to whom belongeth wisdom and understanding; and who, though He is sovereign in His testimonials, and giveth more than either we have desired or deserved, will still be inquired of for those things. As we are now entering upon the field of our labours—which we trust is a labour of love and faith—be pleased, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to bless and direct both us Thy servants, and the work which Thou hast put in our hands, and afford us Thy protection!

Our help is in Thee, O God! who hast made heaven and earth. Undertake Thou for us, and *bless Thou the work of our hands*. Give success to our endeavours to introduce civilization and Christianity into this benighted country. Thou hast promised, *Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God*: make us, we pray Thee, instrumental in fulfilling this Thy promise.

We trust, O Lord, that the Expedition in which we are

engaged is the work of Thy own hands, and the thought of Thy own heart: we would therefore plead Thy promises of protection and guidance, with a peculiar confidence. Thou hast promised to be with Thy people even unto the ends of the world, and to be a refuge to all who put their trust in Thee.

Behold! we Thy unworthy servants do put our whole trust and confidence in Thy mercy. Be pleased, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to defend us with Thy Almighty Power, as with a shield. Thou hast promised, in Thy word — *When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee: for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel, thy Saviour.* Be pleased, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to fulfil all Thy gracious promises in us for the time to come, as Thou hast done hitherto. Continue, in mercy toward us, to be our hiding-place and covert from the tempest, and a comfortable shade in a dry and weary land; for if Thou art with us, *who can be against us?* Let no evil befall us, nor any plague come nigh our ships. Preserve our going out and our coming in, from henceforth and for evermore. And since it is Thy holy will, that all Thy children should go through much tribulation into the kingdom of heaven, be pleased, O Lord, to bless and sanctify all our afflictions to Thy honour and glory. Give grace, wisdom, and judgment to Thy servant, in whose hands Thou hast put the chief command and direction of this Expedition; and to those who are associated with him, and appointed

to negotiate conventions with the African Chiefs. Grant, we beseech Thee, that each and all of us may be a light and a salt to the people of this benighted country, that they may see our good works, and praise Thee our Heavenly Father!

O Thou that rulest over all the kingdoms of the Heathen, and turnest the hearts of Kings whithersoever Thou wilt, dispose and turn Thou the hearts of the Chiefs of this country, that they may love the things which make for their temporal and eternal peace; that the time may be hastened, when they may, according to Thy promises, *beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks*, and nations no longer lift up sword against nation, neither learn war any more! And Thou, O Lord our God! who hast promised to hear the petitions of them who ask in Thy Son's name, we humbly beseech Thee mercifully to incline Thine ear to us who have now made our prayers and supplications to Thee, and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to Thy will, may effectually be obtained, to the relief of our necessity, and to the setting forth of Thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord! Amen.

About 11 o'clock A.M. we overtook the "Albert," and the schooner*, which had left the Bar the day previous. A heavy shower of rain fell early this morning: it soon cleared up, however, and we had most delightful weather the rest of the day.

* The "Amelia" schooner joined the Expedition at Sierra Leone, for the purpose of conveying stores, &c.

The river is narrow, at some places perhaps not wider than three hundred yards, and the appearance of the shores or banks very agreeable. The mangroves extend no greater distance than about ten or twelve miles from the mouth of the river. After their disappearance, the banks assume a beautiful aspect; trees of various tints and shades cover them, and their luxuriant foliage proves pleasant to the eye, especially to mine, which at times are weak and painful under the hot sun of Africa. This part of the country must be very thinly peopled, as only a few persons could be seen; and even at the place where we had been lying at anchor for some days, I suppose that we saw not more than twelve of them. In the dusk of the evening we passed a small village, and could hear the chattering voices of the people, but could not see any of them. We cast anchor about 7 o'clock P.M. The distance we made to-day was calculated at thirty-four miles. Parcels of ground are under cultivation on both sides of the river, especially the last ten or twelve miles. A great number of plantain and banana trees have been planted; also yams and cocoas; and several small patches of sugar-cane, which must have been done previously to the rising of

the river, as they are now standing at the very edge of the water.

Aug. 21—By day-light this morning we were again on our way. The weather was fine; and the sun shone upon us with all his African power, though not oppressive: it was even cool and comfortable under a single canvas awning. The scenery appeared to me every hour to become finer, as we ascended the river. We passed a large village about 7 o'clock P.M., the inhabitants of which came in large numbers on the bank: some were seen carrying muskets along with them. Several canoes came near us; the largest being paddled by sixteen men, containing the Headman of the village. Our Brass Interpreter invited the Headman to come on board, and receive a small "dash" (present); but he could not be prevailed on: he was evidently much afraid, though he was repeatedly assured that we were his friends, and that, if we had any intention of hurting him, we might do so while he was in his canoe. When the Interpreter was repeatedly requested to assure him that we would do him no harm, he replied, in rather an angry manner, "I done tell him all this already. I tell him, Suppose you go fire one big gun, him whole town go broke ;

but he cannot hear *." At last, however, he ventured up, and sat down for a few moments on deck; but his countenance betrayed the uneasiness of his mind. He received a handkerchief as a present: after which he made haste to get back into his canoe, where alone he deemed himself safe.

At 2 o'clock P.M., in consequence of a signal from the "Albert," we entered another branch of the river from that which the other vessels took. Soon after, we arrived at a village called Otua, situated on the right bank of the river, and nearly surrounded with cocoa-nut trees. I was surprised, at first, that there should be only a few inhabitants: with the aid of my glass, I could only discover a few, standing under the doors of their houses. As we drew near the village, our Interpreter spoke to them in the Brass language. The first information which he was always anxious to convey to them was, that we were no Portuguese, but that we came as friends to the Black people. No sooner had he delivered this intelligence, than, to our astonishment, we observed,

* "Hear," is used by the Africans, in speaking English, for "understand and obey."

in less than five minutes—I speak in proper bounds—more than two hundred persons standing at the water's edge. The Chief was requested to come on board; with which he complied, with great reluctance. He was distinguished from the rest of the people by the red shirt which he wore. The Interpreter, Marquis Gunby, from Sierra Leone, being most anxious that he should come, felt not a little annoyed when he observed that the Chief was willing, but that the people endeavoured to dissuade him from such a perilous undertaking. “The King heart strong,” he said: “no more only them people: them coward too much.” However, he got into his large canoe, and approached the formidable vessel of the White Man. As we thought the town might be Ayema, we asked whether he ever made war with White men: to which both himself and the people replied again and again, that they had never seen White men before; which appeared to us almost incredible, as the town where poor Mr. Lander was attacked, robbed, and wounded, cannot possibly be far from hence. Possibly it may be on the branch which the “Albert” pursued; and the correctness of their assertion will be found out, when we meet again.

I suppose we made to-day the same distance as yesterday.

Aug. 22: Lord's Day—A shower of rain in the morning, but fine weather afterward. The sun was clouded all day, but the heat not very great.

We are now convinced, from the unanimous testimony of the people, that we are the first Europeans, at least within their memory, that ever navigated this branch of the river. I am not aware that it affords any advantage over the other: it winds continually, and is, therefore, apparently, a much longer route than the branch pointed out by Capt. Wm. Allen's Chart, and pursued by the Expedition which he accompanied some years ago. A more particular description of it does not belong to my province: as that will, no doubt, be given by persons properly qualified for the task. We passed several large villages, which appeared thickly peopled. One of them, which we passed about 7 o'clock A.M., is called Agobri, situated on the left bank of the river, and inhabited by people speaking the Brass language. We observed several empty puncheons of European manufacture, indicating that the demoralizing liquor, rum, had found its way to this place; but it is, perhaps, more charitable to

suppose that they had been sent up empty, to be filled with palm-oil. The second village which we passed is called Abaddi; and the third at which we arrived, after joining the main river, is called Sobo Kriya. All our endeavours to persuade the Natives to come on board proved fruitless. — I held Divine Service to-day, once, on deck.

The keeping of a Journal in this manner is a very dry piece of business; but so long as we have no intercourse with Natives, I am unable to collect any information which might be of more importance.

Aug. 23—We passed “Little Ibo,” so called by Mr. Laird, about 10 o’clock A.M. It was here that the Natives made an attack upon his Expedition. No signs of hostility were now shown; but, on the contrary, some of the people came on board, with a present for the Captain, consisting of a duck and a bunch of plantains. A certain shyness was undoubtedly perceptible, arising, it may be supposed, from a consciousness of having done wrong on a former occasion. I cannot see the reason why the place should bear the name “Little Ibo,” since the people do not belong to the Ibo Nation at all, and still speak the Brass language.

Only one of those who came on board was a real Ibo, employed, in the service of Obi, at this place. Simon Jonas, our Ibo Interpreter, and myself, had some conversation with him: from which we gathered, that there was not much traffic in slaves carried on at present, and the people were chiefly engaged in preparing palm-oil. He expressed no small degree of surprise when he was told by the Interpreter that he himself had been made a slave, but had been liberated and kindly treated by the English. The Ibo man could hardly credit it. He had hitherto believed that slaves were purchased by the White people to be killed and eaten, and that their blood was used to make red cloth. This notion is very prevalent among them.—Much rain in the afternoon, which continued to fall in torrents almost all night.

Aug. 24—Rain till 9 o'clock A.M. At 10 o'clock, we arrived at a place where the river divides its waters into two branches, of almost equal quantity. The one running s.w. is marked, on Captain Allen's Chart, the Benin Branch*. Near it, on the right bank of the main river, there is a

* We were afterwards informed, by Mr. Becroft, that he had navigated this branch the year before, and found it lead to Warree.

town named Anya—signifying “eye” in the Ibo language—from which the inhabitants flocked to us, in large numbers, in their canoes. All of them spoke Ibo, and are subject to Obi. They could not give us any other name for the Benin branch than “Miri,” meaning water. They all agreed that the Nun led in a shorter time to “Mirinu,” salt water, than the Benin branch. Their palm-oil, as well as their slaves, are said to be taken down the Benin branch, to a place called Egabo; most probably a town of the Brass country; and there is nothing absurd in the supposition, that from thence they may find their way, or be conveyed to Lagas, or Whydda. There can be no doubt that there is much traffic in slaves carried on in this region. We had such proofs of it as cannot be contradicted: several little boys, of about nine or ten years of age, were even brought to our vessels and offered for sale: they were of the Yaruba nation. On reasoning with the man, in whose charge they were, on the sinfulness of his conduct, he readily admitted that the slave-trade was a bad thing; but maintained that it was an evil which could not be remedied, and which, according to his opinion, will never be given up. I trust he will, ere long,

see cause to change his opinion, and be himself persuaded, or obliged, to give it up.

Never has the slave-trade appeared so abominable to me as to-day; when I found that the Natives, in general, entertain the most fearful ideas of the miseries to which they expose the helpless victims of their avarice, by selling them. The circumstance by which this information was obtained, or rather confirmed—I having often heard it before—is too interesting to be omitted. Our Brass Interpreter was peculiarly anxious that one of the large number of persons who surrounded our vessel this evening should come on board, because he thought he recognised him. Though many years had elapsed since our Interpreter was sold, and the other had, in the mean time, become an old man, they instantly recognised each other; and I cannot describe the astonishment manifested by the Ibo man at seeing one whom he verily believed had long since been killed and eaten by the White people. His expressions of surprise were strong, but very significant. “If God Himself,” he said, “had told me this, I could not have believed what my eyes now see.” The Interpreter then found out that Anya was the very place to which he had

first been sold as a slave, and at which he had spent nine years of his early life; and that the very person with whom he was speaking had been his doctor and nurse in a severe illness, on which account he had retained a thankful remembrance of him. The Ibo man was kindly treated by the Captain, and his request to be allowed to accompany us to Obi was instantly granted. He calls himself brother to Obi; but it is well known that the word 'Brother' has a most extensive signification in Western Africa. When he was asked whether he thought that Obi would be glad to see White men, he gave a reply which I was not prepared to hear from the lips of a Pagan. "These three months," he said, "we have been praying to God to send White man's ship."—Oh that I could believe and be convinced that this was something of the cry of the Macedonians, *Come over and help us!* But a suspicious thought always intrudes itself on my mind, and makes me suppose that it is the desire of seeing a slave-dealer with his cargo, in exchange for their own flesh and blood.

Aug. 25—Hitherto the Lord hath helped us. By His gracious providence, we arrived at Ibo, and cast anchor at the mouth of the creek leading

to the town, at half-past 7 o'clock P.M. The country generally deemed the most unhealthy is now behind us: and should we not speak of loving-kindness and tender mercy, seeing we are all still in the land of the living, and in the enjoyment of health? Every step of our journey has been blessed; and past experience calls upon us to take courage, and to go on in humble dependence upon God's continual help.

Having now advanced thus far, it may perhaps be expected from me that I should take a retrospective view of our voyage to this place from the entrance of the river, and express an opinion as to the suitableness of the season chosen for our undertaking. To be certain on this subject is a point of very great importance. I shall, therefore, not be too ready in hastening to a conclusion. It is preferable to mention a few facts which cannot be contradicted, and to leave every one at liberty to form his own opinion. It appears to me that the season has been well chosen: I prefer however to say—providentially directed. The degree of health with which we have hitherto been favoured, proves that it cannot be the most unhealthy season of the year; and the quantity of water in the river,

it being nearly as high as it is likely to rise, would also prove its suitableness in another respect.

I was not a little mortified to-day, by observing that the dialect of the Ibo language, on which I had bestowed much labour in Sierra Leone, differs widely from that spoken and understood in this part of the country. It never escaped my observation, that a great diversity of dialects existed; but I must blame myself much for not making strieter inquiries about that which would be most useful for the present occasion.

Aug. 26—The weather was very fine this morning; the air pure, and the sky clearer than we have seen it for some time. Ibo canoes and people surrounded us, in great numbers, early this morning. I was a little more pleased with them than yesterday; because I perceived that I could make myself understood by them, and could understand more of their talk. After a short time I shall be able to understand them better.

King Obi sent one of his sons to welcome the strangers: he was a very fine-looking young man, of about twenty years of age. Both himself and his companions attended our morning

devotions: after which, I told them what book it was of which I had been reading a portion, and that I had come to this country to tell the people what God had, in it, revealed to us. They were surprised, and could not well understand how it was possible that I should have no other object in view. They are sensible of their inferiority, in every respect, to White men, and can therefore be easily led by them either to do evil or good. When I told one, this morning, that the slave-trade was a bad thing, and that White people wished to put an end to it altogether, he gave me an excellent answer: "Well, if White people give up buying, Black people will give up selling slaves." He assured me, too, that it had hitherto been his belief that it was the will of God that Black people should be slaves to White people.

This afternoon, I satisfied myself of the correctness of various particulars which I had previously obtained of the Ibo people, respecting some of their superstitious practices. It appears to be but too true, that human sacrifices are offered by them, and that in a most barbarous manner. The legs of the devoted victim are tied together, and he is dragged from place to place

till he expires. The person who gave me this information told me that one man had been dragged about for nearly a whole day before his sufferings terminated in death: the body is afterward cast into the river. Interment is always denied them: they must become food for alligators or fishes. Sometimes people are fastened to trees, or to branches close to the river, until they are famished. While we were at anchor inside the Bar, the body of a young woman was found on the sand-bank, having been dead, apparently, only a few hours; and as no external marks of injury were observed, except those produced by a rope fastened around her loins, she may have been sacrificed in this manner.

Infanticide of a peculiar nature likewise prevails among them: twins are never allowed to live. As soon as they are born, they are put into two earthen pots, and exposed to the beasts of the forest; and the unfortunate mother ever afterward endures great trouble and hardships. A small tent is built for her in the forest, in which she is obliged to dwell, and to undergo many ceremonies for her purification. She is separated from all society for a considerable time; her conjugal alliance with her husband

is for ever dissolved; and she is never again permitted to sit down with other women in the same market or in the same house. To give birth to twins is, therefore, considered to be the greatest misfortune that can befall a woman of the Ibo nation. If any person wishes to annoy an Ibo woman, he lifts up two fingers, and says, "You gave birth to twins;" which is sure to make her almost mad. If a child should happen to cut its top teeth first, the poor infant is likewise killed: it is considered to indicate that the child, were it allowed to live, would become a very bad person. To say to any person, "You cut your top teeth first," is, therefore, as much as to say, "Nothing good can be expected from you: you are born to do evil: it is impossible for you to act otherwise."

The Ibos are, in their way, a religious people. The word "Tshuku"—God—is continually heard. Tshuku is supposed to do every thing. When a few bananas fell out of the hands of one in the water, he comforted himself by saying, "God has done it." Their notions of some of the attributes of the Supreme Being are, in many respects, correct, and their manner of expressing them striking. "God made every thing: He made

both White and Black," is continually on their lips. Some of their parables are descriptive of the perfections of God. When they say, for instance, that God has two eyes or two ears, that the one is in heaven and the other on earth, I suppose the conclusion that they have an idea of God's omniscience and omnipresence cannot be disputed. On the death of a person who has, in their estimation, been good, they will say, "He will see God;" while, of a wicked person, they say, "He will go into fire." I had frequent opportunities of hearing these expressions at Sierra Leone; but though I was assured that they had not learned them from Christians, I would not state them before I had satisfied myself, by inquiring of such as had never had any intercourse with Christians, that they possessed correct ideas of a future state of reward and punishment. Truly God has not left Himself without witness!

Another subject on which they are generally agreed—but which, I am sorry to say, I shall have no opportunity of pursuing any further—is the following: it is their common belief that there is a certain place or town in the Ibo country in which "Tshuku" dwells, and where he

delivers his oracles and answers inquiries. Any matter of importance is left to his decision, and people travel to the place from every part of the country. It is said to be, in the rainy season, three months' journey from this town; but that, in the dry season, it could be made by land in a much shorter time. I was informed to-day, that, last year, Tshuku had given sentence against the slave-trade. The person inquiring of him is placed on a piece of ground, which is immediately and miraculously surrounded by water. Tshuku cannot be seen by any human eye: his voice is heard from the ground. He speaks every language on earth; makes known thieves; and if there is fraud in the heart of the inquirer, he is sure to find it out; and woe to such a person! for he will never return. He hears every word that is said against him; but can only revenge himself when persons come near him.—I once asked a man, "Did the people never drive him out of his hole?" when he said to me, very seriously, "Master, do not take such word: perhaps, by-and-bye, you go see the place, and Tshuku will kill you, 'You here now! You must drive me out of my hole!' and the time he begin for talk, you no go open your mouth again." They sincerely

believe all these things, and many others, respecting Tshuku, and obey his orders implicitly: and if it should be correct that he has said that they should give up the slave-trade, I have no doubt that they will do it at once.

Obi came on board the "Wilberforce" in the afternoon, with a present of a bullock and two hundred yams. The object of our visit was explained to him. He was glad to learn that England was willing to trade with him: he was willing even to supply the English with slaves. The opinions which English People entertained of the slave-trade, and their desire to abolish it, were fully explained to him; and our Interpreter, Simon Jonas, spoke with much feeling of the miseries which arise from it. He did not omit relating to him much of the kindness of the people of England, who liberated him from slavery, and put him into a country where there is "no war," where every body is allowed "to work for himself," and where he had learned to worship God. The king appeared much interested, and considered all that had been told him to be very good. Nothing delighted him more than the news, that the Queen of England had sent out war ships along the coast, to watch

for slavers, to take their vessels and slaves, to destroy the one, and liberate the other. He laughed most heartily and immoderately at this; admiring the power of England, which was greater than that of Spain and Portugal. I was, for my part, more pleased than discouraged when I heard him candidly admit that it was a hard thing to give up the slave-trade. The conversation was then postponed to the following day, when all the Commissioners would be present. He repeatedly expressed his readiness to enter into a treaty, and to abolish the slave-trade.

The other vessels composing the Expedition arrived at Ibo this evening. Much rain in the afternoon.

Aug. 27 — The business with King Obi* was

* I have kept the name Obi, though it is not correct. Obi appears to be a title of royalty; and he would be more properly called Onnese Obi Osaï; and his country and town, Abóh, instead of Ibo. Captain Trotter considers the Ibo, or, as it was written formerly, Eboe Country, to extend along the northern margin of the Delta, between the Old Calabar and Formosa Rivers. Ibo comprises the whole nation speaking the Ibo language; while Obi's part of the country is distinguished from the rest, by the name Abóh, or Abóh Country.

resumed this morning, on board the "Albert." Every thing was fully explained to him again; and his answers, and cautious inquiries into various things, showed that he entered into the spirit of it. After this was done, at the request of Captain Trotter, I commenced reading a translation of the "Address to the Chiefs and People of Africa," which I had previously prepared in his own language. Instead of its exciting his curiosity, he soon felt tired. "I understand all," he said, "and I am willing to do all that is in my power. What good can it do, to tell it to me so many times?" Perhaps the style of my translation was not sweet enough for his ears, and my tongue not sufficiently Ibonized. Obi was then informed that every thing would be ready the following morning, and that he would receive the presents after signing the treaty. He was anxious to go back to his own house, and was kind enough to allow me a passage in his canoe. I was very glad of this opportunity, as it enabled me, from personal observation, to form an opinion of the eligibility of Ibo for a Missionary Station. It may be objected, that a question of so much importance could not, or should not, be decided by a single

visit; but from all I observed, I am convinced that the town and country must be very unhealthy. It is almost entirely under water: we were obliged to wade through the mud, up to our knees, to the palace of the king. It is true, this is the rainy season, and that a few months hence the whole appearance would be much altered; but it is questionable whether it would be healthier. The Natives invariably agree that there is much sickness among them at the time the banks of the river begin to get dry; and where there is such an enormous quantity of mud accumulated, and extent of country overflowed, dryness is not accomplished in a few days, and perhaps never entirely, as the wet season seems to be much longer here than in Sierra Leone, or other places along the coast. Obi himself said, when it was mentioned to him, that White people might come and teach him and his subjects, and build houses in his country;—that he would point out to them a better place, because there was too much water here. Where that better place is to be found, I am at a loss to say; the whole country appearing, as far as we could see, of the same character, everywhere low and swampy.

I was introduced to the palace without much ceremony; a clay bank, under the roof of one of the piazzas, being assigned to myself and companions, as seats. Obi's one hundred and ten wives were gazing at us from their dwellings, and now and then had a hearty laugh at our expense. Just before us stood an idol made of wood, holding a pistol in his left hand, and a sword in his right. He is considered the God of War. In time of war, every soldier is obliged, before he departs for the fight, to lay his hands upon the idol, who preserves him, and enables him to return in safety. Obi could not devote much time to us. He expressed, in a hasty manner, to his wives, his surprise at the things which he had seen in the vessel; and then quickly retired to perform his superstitious ceremonies, in which he was assisted by his Headmen or priests. I was told that he sacrificed several sheep. Their sacrifices are always divided among the people, and eaten. I returned to the vessel at 7 o'clock P.M., in the king's canoe. The Interpreter had permission to spend the night on shore; which was a plan well-arranged by Captain Trotter, as he could witness the proclamation of the treaty

which Obi had entered into with England. Obi certainly fulfilled his promise; and told his people that he had given up the slave-trade for ever: and prohibited all his subjects from engaging in it any more, threatening all, who should violate his contract with England, with severe punishment.

A suspicion was expressed to the Interpreter, by one of the principal people of the town, as to the sincerity of our pretensions of having come to this country with the design of doing good to the Black people; arising from the following observation, which he had made on one of our vessels. He happened to see, in the cabin of one of our medical officers, a human skull; and concluded that it belonged to a Black man, who had been killed by us for the sake of obtaining his skull. Another objection which he found against us was, that we spoke against their "arrisi" (idols), while we kept idols in our own vessels; the only difference being, that theirs were of a rude, while ours were of a fine make:—he meant, undoubtedly, the likenesses and pictures which he happened to see on board. I feared, beforehand, that such would be their impressions.

✓ We can hardly believe how ignorant they are,

and what singular conclusions they will draw from things they see or hear. When, for instance, the likenesses of the Queen and Prince Albert were shown to Obi, he seriously inquired which of them was the wife, and which the husband. This will hardly be credited; but I was present when the important inquiry was made; and it must not be forgotten, that he had never seen a European lady. I believe our Interpreter succeeded in satisfying them that our likenesses were not idols, and that the skull was not obtained in the manner supposed.

Aug. 28 — The business with Obi commenced again early this morning, on board the "Albert." The object for which I had come to this country was not forgotten: on the contrary, I admired Captain Trotter's anxiety that all should be fully explained to him. Obi confessed that he did not know God, nor the right way of worshipping Him; and expressed an earnest desire that Teachers should be sent to him and his people. We could make him no decided promise that White Missionaries would ever settle in his dominions; but expressed our belief that we could get good people, who spoke his own language, and had learned to know God and

to worship Him at Sierra Leone; at which he was much pleased. An English and an Arabic Bible were presented to him, though he cannot read either of them: persons may come, however, to his town who may be able to make proper use of them. I opened the English Bible, and made Simon Jonas read a few verses to him, and translate them into Ibo. The verses he read were some of the Beatitudes of our Saviour, in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew. Obi was uncommonly taken with this. That a White man could read and write, was a matter of course; but that a Black man—an Ibo man—a slave in times past—should know these wonderful things too, was more than he could ever have anticipated. He seized Simon's hand, squeezed it most heartily, and said, "You must stop with me: you must teach me and my people. The White people can go up the river without you: they may leave you here until they return, or until other people come;"—and he would not be satisfied, until Simon had made his desire known to Captain Trotter. After much consideration, it was agreed that he should remain here till our return from the interior. Simon was much afraid that he might be left here alone,—that the

vessels might return by another river; and expressed his opinion that he felt himself unequal to the task. But when he was assured that his fears were unfounded, and that I wished him to teach his country people chiefly by a holy and consistent life, he felt perfectly satisfied. Obi promised to treat him kindly,

This occurrence appears to me of great importance, on various accounts; though I have no enthusiastic hopes of great results arising from it. Enthusiasm is always far from me, and is never the extreme into which I am liable to fall; but I do not *despise the day of small things*, and can discover the leadings of Providence in things of this description. I drew several conclusions from it, which I consider legitimate. The desire expressed by Obi that Simon Jonas should remain with him, proves the sincerity of his heart to perform the terms of the treaty into which he has entered. If he had any intention of evading them, he would not have expressed a desire to have a person around him who understands his own language, can watch over all his proceedings, and who, as he well knows, will join the Expedition again, and will be able to make his report of Obi's conduct to the Commissioners. It

further convinces me that the objection, so often raised, that Africans would not listen to their own country-people, especially to such as had previously been slaves, is perfectly gratuitous. The king of Ibo is not ashamed to confess his own ignorance; nor too proud to sit down to one of his own countrymen and listen to his instructions, or to derive in any way some advantage from the superior knowledge he has obtained by his intercourse with Europeans. Every thing tends to confirm my opinion of Sierra Leone and its destiny, that from thence the Gospel will proceed to numerous benighted tribes of Africa. There the commencement must be made for the dissemination of the Gospel; and every human means ought to be employed, and carefully used, toward hastening the time, and facilitating the work.

Perhaps I may be permitted to mention here a few things more. Though they have no necessary connexion with my Journal, they are connected with the plans under contemplation for the civilization and christianizing of Africa. West-Indian people may in many respects be better qualified than the Liberated Africans at Sierra Leone: they have seen more of European

habits; are better acquainted with agricultural labours; and have a much greater taste for European comforts, if that be considered an acquisition. But it must not be overlooked, that there are many things which would prove a drawback, rather than a help. The high wages that they have been accustomed to receive, and the high notions which they have imbibed of their own importance, have, I am afraid, rendered them, in a great measure, unfitted for Africa. Add to this, that many may carry a recollection of the driver's lashes with them; and many more have a disposition to inflict them on others: so that the one would not feel disposed to co-operate heartily with England, and the other would little recommend the civilization system by his conduct. And besides, it must never be thought that a black skin is a sufficient safeguard against diseases incident to the climate of Africa.

It may be that I have wronged the West-Indian People in some things attributed to them: if that is the case, it is owing to my having compared them with the Free Blacks in the American Settlements of Liberia, of the greater number of whom my statement is

correct. The case is widely different with regard to the Liberated Africans. They are not spoiled by high wages; they have obtained all they possess by their own exertions; and entertain no other feelings for English People than those of kindness. I have witnessed, on several occasions, how feelingly they speak to their own country people of the miseries which slavery produces, and of the kindness shown to them in liberating them. And why should not such be sent forth, with the Gospel in their hands, and the love of Christ in their hearts? Must the old objection continually operate against this plan, that they are not qualified, because they may not be able to compose sermons or write elaborate discourses? Ought we not to consider, that the Gospel is the message of God to man; and that God can bless it, when faithfully declared, whether it be by a White or a Black man? Look at the condition of those to whom they are sent, or proposed to be sent: it is described in a few words—lost and buried in ignorance, superstitions—cruel superstitions—and vice, and bowing down before deaf and dumb idols. Is it possible to make them worse? Can a simple-hearted Christian, knowing nothing but how to read his

Bible, do them harm? or is he not sufficiently elevated above his hearers by human acquirements? He is, in my opinion, as much above the level of his hearers, with regard to education, as the best-educated Minister in Europe is above his congregation. But much more might be done for them. They might be received under a course of instruction, and be led to understand how to reduce a language, and such like.

I perceive, however, that instead of writing a Journal, I have been giving opinions. This I cannot regret; for I may, perhaps, never be able to express my views by word of mouth, life being uncertain; and I hope that they may, at least, lead to further inquiries and consideration on those subjects which appear to me of paramount importance.

I now return to my Journal.—Every thing being ready, and copies of the treaty lying on the table for signature, Obi was told that it was the custom of Christians to call upon God for His blessing, in all their undertakings; and that we would now pray for a blessing upon ourselves and upon him, and in which we hoped he would join us. We accordingly fell on our knees, and

the Chaplain of the Expedition offered up a prayer to Almighty God. Obi knelt down, for the first time in his life. On getting up, he appeared extremely alarmed and agitated, trembling and shaking like a leaf, perspiration rolling down his cheeks: indeed, he appeared to be in agony of mind. He called so loudly for his "arrisi"—idol or charm—that his people who were on deck could hear him. Turning to the Interpreter, he told him of the agony of his mind, thinking that all this had been intended to hurt him. The charm was brought down; and his Headman hastened to his relief, and was about to perform his superstitious ceremonies in the Commander's apartments, when the Interpreter succeeded in removing his suspicions and quieting his mind. He told his Headman how much he had been afraid, and that he now was convinced that there was no occasion for fear; requesting the Interpreter to explain more fully to them what the object of our prayer had been, and to satisfy them, too, that no harm was intended. Obi's son then poured out a tumbler of palm-wine for him, which soon restored his faculties; and another one was handed round, of which we all partook, to convince him that there was a feeling of cordiality

and friendship existing between him and ourselves.*

I may here remark that much depends on the manner in which the subject of slavery is laid before the Chiefs and People of Africa; and there is no class of persons better qualified to speak of the horrors of slavery, of the benefit conferred upon them by their liberation by Great Britain, and of the advantages which would be derived by the nations of the interior of Africa by the abolition of the slave-trade, and a commercial intercourse with England, than the Liberated Africans at Sierra Leone. Nothing could equal the natural good sense and eloquence of Simon Jonas, our Ibo Interpreter, in speaking to King Obi on the subject of slavery. When it was first broached to Obi that the object of our visit to him was the abolition of the slave-trade, he candidly confessed that he considered it a hard thing to give it up. This expression did not escape the notice of our Ibo Interpreter. He began in the most respectful

* The writer has witnessed similar scenes at Sierra Leone Liberated Africans, attending Divine Service for the first time, felt greatly alarmed. It is ascribable to their notions of worship.

The idolatrous rites of the Negroes are either intended to avert some injuries from themselves, or to inflict them upon others.

manner to convince the king that it was still harder to continue it: and of this he could speak, not merely as an eye-witness, but like one who had felt what it means, to be taken away from all that endears home, to be driven from place to place, and packed up in a slave-vessel. He commenced by describing the miseries which the slave-trade produced in the Ibo Country; mentioned the continual wars carried on for the purpose of capturing slaves; how many parents became bereaved of their children, and children for ever separated from their parents; how the whole population was continually in a state of excitement and fear, and what an injurious effect this condition had on their own temporal concerns; how their fields were neglected, and their houses left without inhabitants; how every one was afraid of his own neighbour, and none could place confidence in his own brother;—and then went] on to relate his own experience, from the time he was made a slave, to the time he was speaking with the king. He mentioned, that there were more than 200 boys who were taken in war, but many of them died of hunger and fatigue before they reached Bonny;—that many had been sacrificed by the King of Bonny; and

others had committed suicide, to prevent that most horrible death of being eaten by the White people, which all of them firmly believed would be their lot. He did not forget to mention in what condition they were on board the slave-vessel; spoke of bad provisions, bad water, and of the want of room; that many soon died, and others fell sick, and were often thrown overboard before they had actually expired, and became food to the shark;—and, when he had stated all these things, to which the king had listened with the greatest attention, he addressed himself to the king, and said, “Do you not see that it is harder to continue it, than to give it up?”—and Obi admitted that it was harder to continue it. The Interpreter then told him of what different principles English People were, and how kindly they were treated by them;—how they were instructed in the Schools at Sierra Leone, and learned to serve God;—that there was no war in Sierra Leone, and that there were no slaves; that all were free people, and were happy together. This account pleased Obi very much: he stood up and shook hands with all the Europeans present, as if he meant to thank them for the kindness shown to Black people. I mention this circumstance so

fully, to show that Interpreters of this description cannot but be doing a great deal of good, and be eminently useful in spreading a correct knowledge of the slave-trade among their own country people, in convincing them of the enormity of its crime, and in directing them to better things. I always observed, that whenever the motives were explained to them by which England or English People were actuated in their exertions to abolish the slave-trade, every advocate of it was silenced; and those who had before defended it would stand before us convicted in their own consciences of crimes of the blackest tinge, and would blush as much as Black people can blush. "We knew no better," they would often say: "hitherto we thought it was so God's will that Black people should be slaves to White people. White people first told us we should sell slaves to them, and we sold them; and White people are now telling us not to sell slaves, and we will not sell them again;"—and, as another justly added, "If White people give up buying, Black people will give up selling."

I have hitherto endeavoured to comply with my instructions daily to write my Journal, but now found it irksome for the first time. It was late at

night, and I felt fatigued. Before, however, I take leave of the Ibo People, I must relate a story, which I was told this evening, descriptive of their ideas of God, and of the feelings and thoughts which occupy their mind. Of such I always endeavour to lay hold. I have before mentioned that there is a town where Tshuku gives his oracles, and answers questions which are put to him on important subjects. An answer of this kind, to an interesting query, is what I have now to record. There was a man in this country possessed of great riches, and, like many of his friends or equals, unwilling to part with them. Troubled by the thought, which interrupted him in all his enjoyments, that he had to die, he resolved to consult Tshuku, "took road," and went to Tshuku's place. He told Tshuku that he "had plenty money, plenty wives, plenty things to eat," and that he was very unwilling to leave all behind and enter into an unknown world. He wished therefore to know whether Tshuku could tell him any thing that he might do, to live for ever. Tshuku told him, that there was but one thing required of him; and if he would do that, he would be sure to live for ever. "Good news!" replied the rich man; "only tell me what

it is, and I will do it." Tshuku told him, that he should never allow himself to fall asleep. The rich man promised to do it; returned to his house, called his friends together, and made a great feast; "killed cattle, got plenty palm-wine, plenty rum, plenty every thing." Eating and drinking, music, singing and dancing, continued all night; and no sleep came in the rich man's eyes. Toward morning, however, just when "big darkness come before light come," he put a little rum in his tumbler, sat down on a bench, and took "no more little rum: his eyes begin fall; he no closed them good fashion: him tumbler begin drop from him hand: he jump up and say, 'Ah! I no been asleep; I no sleep, no more only tumbler fall from my hand: Tshuku no can believe me sleep.' 'Well,' said his friends, 'you better go ask Tshuku again;'" and he took road a second time for Tshuku's place. When he arrived there, Tshuku said, "Now, rich man, how you do? Have you slept since you were here?" "No," replied the rich man. "What!" said Tshuku, "did not tumbler fall from your hands?" The rich man, "he no open mouth again." "See rich man," said Tshuku, "this makes God to be God, because He never sleeps; and you to be

man, because you must sleep." I have given it as much in the language as I thought would be intelligible to persons not acquainted with African-English.

The whole Expedition left Ibo—Abóh—at 3 o'clock P.M., much pleased at the good success and favourable commencement of the undertaking. The weather was delightful; and as it was a fine moonlight night, we did not cast anchor before 11 o'clock P.M.

Aug. 29: Lord's Day—We spent a quiet Sabbath to-day on board, much more so than on the three preceding. We had Divine Service on deck in the forenoon. Much rain toward evening, so that we could not have a second Service.—Remained at anchor all day.

Aug. 30 — I learned to-day that the plan of leaving Simon Jonas at Ibo had been altered. He is first to accompany us as far as the Confluence; and from thence take charge of our letters, and deliver them to Obi, who has engaged to forward them to Bonny, by any English vessel which may happen to be there. I am glad of this arrangement. Accordingly, a few letters were sent off to-day, by one of Obi's people, who had accompanied us thus far. As I am

desirous of finding out how this plan of communication will answer, I have thought it worth while to put the circumstance on record.*

Aug. 31—This was decidedly the finest day we have had since entering the river; and a change in the scenery contributed in no small degree to make it much more pleasant. There was a little elevated land on the left bank of the river. We passed only a few small villages, but could not ascertain their names. I was chiefly occupied in correcting and improving a translation of the model treaty, in the Haussa Language. The setting of the sun to-day was grand and majestic, beyond description.

Sept. 1—This morning we passed Akamaka, a market-town situated on the right bank, and Bokeng, on the left bank of the river. The latter appeared altogether in a swamp. Both are market-places, visited by people from Iddah and the surrounding towns. The country is still Ibo, though no longer subject to Esseh Obi Osai of Abóh.

I was much annoyed and grieved this morning,

* On the return of the vessels, a few weeks afterward, to Ibo, the Letters had not been forwarded to Bonny, possibly from want of an opportunity.

on observing that many of my articles of clothing in my boxes had got wet, and had become useless. In preparing for the journey, I went as far as my means would allow me to have every thing comfortably supplied, knowing that cleanliness is one of the principal preservatives of health; but now I am afraid, if our stay in the interior should be at all prolonged, I shall be in distress. I would much recommend our Society to supply their servants with water-proof boxes for such or similar undertakings. They can always be procured in England, but never in Sierra Leone.

About noon, we passed Damugu, the place where the former Expedition had much sickness on board, and sustained many losses. It seems to be a populous village, but in an unhealthy situation. The water came up to the doors of the houses—another proof that the river must have risen to its average height; for if it were to rise a single foot higher, the houses would be ruined. We observed a large canoe, heavily laden, ascending the river, and wished much that they would come near us, to enable us to make a few inquiries; but we could not persuade them. Heavy rain for some hours in the afternoon, accompanied with thunder and lightning. Before sun-set,

however, it became clear again, and the night was very fine. We cast anchor at 10 o'clock P.M.

Sept. 2—I have little or nothing worthy of remark. On board a vessel, every day is so much alike, that if there is no intercourse with the Natives, there can of course be no information to record. I observed, with regret, that the soil is not so much under cultivation above Ibo as below it.* The country cannot, in my estimation, be healthier than the Delta: the few villages we saw were entirely inundated. The language now spoken is the Eggarra, or, as it is also called, the Igalla; but having no Interpreter of that nation in the "Wilberforce," we could not even obtain the names of the different villages. Our journey became more agreeable as we approached nearer the high land. The heat was great at noon, though the thermometer was not higher than 85° in the shade.

* The "Wilberforce," during this time, chiefly kept the right bank of the river. Captain Trotter, in the "Albert," had a better opportunity of observing the cultivation of the left bank; and considered it to be more extensively carried on above Ibo, than at any place he had seen below that town.

CHAP. III.

ARRIVAL AT IDDAH—VISIT TO THE KING OF IDDAH—INTERVIEW WITH HIS RELATIVES — APPROACH TO THE PALACE, AND INTERVIEW WITH THE KING — HIS ANSWER — REMARKS ON IT — FURTHER INTERVIEW WITH THE KING — CASES OF FEVER — DEATH OF WILLIAM JOHNSON, ONE OF THE INTERPRETERS—DESCRIPTION OF IDDAH AND ITS INHABITANTS—ITS ELIGIBILITY FOR A MISSIONARY STATION — OBSERVATIONS ON THE EDUCATION OF NATIVE PRINCES—DEPARTURE FROM IDDAH — COUNTRY AND PEOPLE ON THE BANKS OPPOSITE IDDAH — BEAUFORT ISLAND—ARRIVAL AT ADDA KUDDU, THE PROPOSED SITE FOR A MODEL FARM—NOTICES OF SICKNESS AND DEATHS ON BOARD THE VESSELS—SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENT — REMOVAL TO STIRLING HILL — COMMISSION FROM THE KING OF IDDAH—TREATY WITH THE KING FOR LAND FOR THE MODEL FARM — REMARKS ON ITS ELIGIBILITY FOR A MISSION STATION.

Sept. 3—Yesterday, at 7 o'clock P.M., we anchored at Iddah. Captain Trotter, who always afforded me every opportunity in his power to become acquainted with the people of this country, sent for me early this morning on board the "Albert," and requested me to accompany a mission to the King of Iddah. The mission was composed of Dr. McWilliam, myself, and Mr. Brown, a native of Cape Coast, often mentioned in Mr. Laird's Journal. Dr. Stanger, the Geologist,

afterward joined us. Our mission was simply to invite his Majesty on board the "Albert," where the Commissioners of the Queen of England would deliver their message to him. The king, of course, cannot be approached by strangers without a proper introduction: it was therefore necessary first to call upon an official person, and to apply for an introduction. In this case, it was pointed out to us that the sister of the late king had first to be consulted; and access to her was immediately obtained. I was almost impatient for a sight of the person whose power and influence was so great, and whose services were of such importance, that even the presents for the king had first to be seen by her, to receive her approbation. The passage to her dwelling led through several unoccupied houses, and, though nobody would imagine it, was rather dangerous, not on account of thieves and robbers, but from the peculiar construction of the houses. Instead of doors, they have merely holes; to enter which, you must stoop or creep, as may be deemed most convenient; and scarcely is one entered than another presents itself before you. Being unaccustomed to this, I happened, on entering, to stand erect, or endeavoured to do so, too soon, and knocked

my head several times against the walls with such violence that I almost fainted: and singular enough, though those who took the lead always warned their followers against knocking their heads, none appeared to be sufficiently cautious until he had himself received a more impressive warning—a warning, too, which left marks on the forehead for several days. At last, however, we arrived at the dwelling of the princess, which was superior in nothing to the rest of the houses. We were invited to take our seats under the projecting roof of the house. The princess, stooping down at the hole of her house, gave us a friendly welcome. She appeared to be about fifty years old. Her head had lately been shaven; and her nose and upper lips were blackened with some kind of colour, though naturally black enough. Her apparel consisted of a rough country cloth around her loins, without any ornaments or marks to indicate her royal descent. I began to question whether we had arrived at the right place, and were with the right person; for her appearance—though I never expected to see great grandeur in African royalty—was more like that of a mean slave. My suspicions, however, were soon removed. We were told that she

was in mourning for her husband. At such seasons they divest themselves of all ornaments, especially widows, and disfigure themselves in the manner just mentioned. A daughter of the late king was with her, a young woman about sixteen years of age, whose apparel formed a great contrast from that of the old princess. Both her arms were ornamented with brass rings, weighing at least six pounds on each arm.—What a tyrant is fashion, in every place in the world!

We waited patiently under the piazza, surrounded by crowds of people, and almost suffocated, for a considerable time; expecting every moment the return of the eunuch, who had been despatched to the king, to apprise him of our arrival, and of our desire to have a personal interview with him. They were not much concerned, however, about our loss of time. To our repeated inquiries whether the eunuch had returned, or would soon return, we were told that we should have patience. Having waited from 7 to 10 o'clock in the morning, to no purpose, we expressed a wish to go and see the town; to which the princess had no objection. We went to one of the markets, to purchase something to eat, as we began to feel hungry; but

unfortunately had brought no cowries with us. One of the Natives, observing our perplexity, presented me with several cowries. I could not but admire his conduct; for he evidently endeavoured to do it so that nobody should observe him—that the White man should not be exposed to shame by receiving a present from a Black man. All our wants were now soon supplied. I bought some ground-nuts; and my companions procured some cocoa-nuts, the milk of which was very sweet. Having spent more than an hour in looking at the people, and allowing ourselves to be looked and laughed at by them, we returned to the princess, supposing that the eunuch would certainly then have returned; but we were again told that we should have patience. The good princess had, in the meantime, provided a good breakfast for us, consisting of a stewed duck* and mashed yams, prepared in country style. The stew was served up in a wooden bowl, large enough to contain twenty times the quantity, and the yams in one of

* There were some bones, with meat, uncommonly sweet, in the stew, such as I never before observed in stewed dishes. The taste of the meat was somewhat between pork and mutton; and I cannot help thinking but that we were treated with a little puppy, a favourite dish with the Natives.

smaller dimensions; a large brass basin, filled with clean water, being placed between them. Mats were spread on the ground in the yard, on which we seated ourselves. The princess, to show that there was no poison in the stew, took the first piece; and, to teach us how to eat with decency, first carefully put her fingers into the water and washed them clean: after which she withdrew, and left us to enjoy ourselves as well as we could. As there was only one fork for the whole party, we were of course obliged to follow her example and make use of the means with which nature had provided us.

At 1 o'clock P.M. the eunuch returned, with the message of the king; which was very welcome, the king being pleased to receive us; and the same eunuch showed us the road to the palace. I could not observe the slightest difference in the outward appearance of the king's houses from those of the rest of the people*. They formed a cluster of conical huts, surrounded by a mud wall, which wanted repairs in many places. We were again told to wait in the open air for

* Others, however, observed that one of the houses was considerably higher than the rest, having the appearance of a look-out house.

some time: after a while, we were led under the piazza of a house, and treated with the African luxury, the gora-nuts and palm-wine. It was well for me that I was used to the nuts: they are an excellent tonic, and supply the place of quinine. But nothing would please us, as we became impatient for the king's coming.

At 4 o'clock P.M., however, another eunuch came, with a message from the king, that he could not see us because it was raining, and that it was the law of the country "that rain should never drop on the king's head." It had been raining a little through the day; but at the time he sent this message, it was clear, and no appearance of rain. As we considered this a mere excuse, and apprehended that he would find a similar one on the following day, we requested the eunuch to tell the king, that if he could not see us now, the vessels would leave, and he would have no other opportunity of hearing the Queen's message. This was enough: the eunuch returned instantly, assuring us that the king was getting ready, and preparations were commenced in the yard for his reception. A throne was put up in the open air, made of some bamboo-sticks, and a white country cloth nailed over it. A large red carpet,

which covered the ground for some yards, was spread over the throne, over which was another smaller carpet. About half an hour afterward, his majesty made his appearance, and took his seat upon the throne. His dress was splendid and ridiculous. I shall not attempt to describe it fully. The red velvet robe was certainly imposing; while one could not help smiling at the bells around his legs, the large quantity of beads around his neck, and the carpet slippers, large enough to fit an elephant. He was accompanied by a band of musicians, and between forty and fifty eunuchs. All took their seats on the ground, turning their backs on his majesty, except a few persons who were fanning him. Permission was then given to us to deliver our message; which we did as briefly as possible, seated on the ground, but upon carpets spread for us at the king's request. Our message was delivered to him through our Interpreter, William Johnson, in the Eggarra language; the king's mouth* merely repeating the very same words, in a louder tone of voice. When our business was done, his majesty, addressing himself to the Interpreter,

* The chief speaker, lawyer, or interpreter, is, in several countries, called the King's Mouth.

who is not only a native of this town, but really related to the royal family now on the throne, was pleased to return the following most kingly answer :—" You must thank God that your own family is now on the throne. I am much pleased to see White people, if they are pleased to see me. If they are my friends, they will believe my word. When White people were here before, there was another king here. I have come to the throne since ; and I am glad to see White people again in my country. If White people are really anxious to have my friendship, they ought to be in no hurry to leave, because I like my friends to eat and drink with me for two or three days. If strangers come to me, they cannot go away until they have heard my answer. I did not want to come to-day ; but as you said there would be no rain, I thought you had power to stop the rain. The river downwards and upwards belongs to me. Your Queen sent you : can I send to your Queen ? You brought a present, to see me : I have not seen it (regarded it). You come to make me a friend : the king has no friend. If any one comes from distant countries, like you, to see me, he ought to bring a present worthy of a king : this is only fit for my

servants to wear. The king and God are something alike, and the present ought to be worthy of the king and of God. (Here his majesty's gravity was interrupted for a moment; he having caught a glimpse of my spectacles, and expressed a wish to get a pair like them.) I am a king; and a king never puts his foot into a canoe. (Immense cheering by his people, expressed by singing out, "Lāfia, Lāfia.") If the captain of the canoes wishes to see me, he must march on shore, or not see me at all: the king follows nobody. God made the king to be like himself: and ever since God made the king, it was never heard that the king went into a canoe. The king before me never went in the canoe of those White people who were here before. All people who have any business ought to come to me; and if the captain has any thing to say, which is good for me and for him, he will come. If he wishes to speak to me privately, I will drive all my people away; and if it is fit for every body to hear, then shall every body hear it."—Was not this a kingly answer?

His Majesty wished now to learn whether his answer pleased us: to which we replied, that we were messengers, and would convey it to our

Commander ; and that we had no doubt that the king would be much pleased to hear what he had to say to him. “ I wish to hear it first,” he said, “ before I can know whether it will please me or not, and whether it is good or bad. I want to see the captain himself : and if he cannot come, I don’t want to see another messenger.”

I have given the king’s answer as literally as possible, and have not interrupted its logical arrangement by observations of my own, except where they served as an illustration of the mode of delivery ; but may now be permitted to make a few remarks on it. The king expressed an opinion of our power which might, at first sight, appear contemptuous : but several things have occurred to my mind, by which I am led to believe that the king was really serious when he said that he thought we had power to stop the rain. I have been repeatedly told by Heathens that there were great, clever, and powerful men in their own countries, who could at pleasure either procure or stop the rain ; and this notion prevails particularly among the Ibos, and the worshippers of thunder and lightning of other nations. Some years ago, when residing at Hastings, one of the Liberated African Villages

at Sierra Leone, while occupied in building a house there, using every exertion in my power to complete it previous to the falling of the rain, I was myself charged with the crime or skill, whatever it may be called, of staying the rain.

The king objected to the presents, as being beneath his dignity. What they consisted of, I cannot say exactly; but I know there was a large tobe among them of superfine blue cloth; such as, at least, all the skill in his whole kingdom could not have produced, nor his treasures have purchased; yet still, it was considered beneath his dignity.—What base ingratitude! How arrogant, how proud, is man's heart by nature! Had he not appeared in the very tobe presented to him by the former Expedition, he could not have assumed such pomp and grandeur.

The Interpreter introduced me as a Mallam—Teacher of the Christian Religion—which excited the king's curiosity. He inquired of him what the difference was between us and the Mahomedans: to which he replied, that we knew better what was the will of the only True God; and that we were endeavouring to teach all people to know and to do His will. He then wished to know for what reason I had

endeavoured to get some books from one of the Mahomedans of this town—whether it was not for the sake of learning something from them. These inquiries of the king betrayed something of his policy. This plainly showed that the visits which must always be first made to some head-man or head-woman are not intended as marks of respect to them, but are chiefly means through which the king collects information about the strangers, previous to their interview with him. Every word that is spoken, or every thing that is done by them, is carried to his ears. On walking through the streets, I happened to meet a Mahomedan, who had about twenty leaves of paper in his hands, beautifully written in Arabic; and requested him to let me have some of them, for which I would let him have some paper again, on his coming to the vessel. Our Interpreter told him that the White Mallams knew the Mahomedan books well enough, and that they merely liked to have the things made by Black people to look at; and that they wrote books about every thing they saw and heard.

Another question was put to the Interpreter by the king, which is also interesting. The king wished to know whether the English were

the people who watched the sea-coast, taking slave-vessels, and liberating the slaves. The question was no intricate one to a person who, like himself—I mean the Interpreter—was a living witness of the fact. He told the king much of the power of England, and of the good intentions of the English people toward the Blacks. Every thing of this kind confirms my opinion of Sierra Leone, and of the destiny of its inhabitants to become the messengers of the Gospel to their benighted countrymen in all parts of Western Africa.

The Attah expressed the same wish as Obi did, that the Interpreter should remain with him, and teach him “English fashion.” I always hear these expressions, not only with pleasure, but with sincere gratitude to Almighty God; *and take courage.*

The last inquiry of the Attah deserving notice was, whether the English People were continually living on the water, or whether they possessed land and houses like other people. The description which the Interpreter gave him of the towns and cities of the English Nation, and their power and influence, might well have humbled the pride of the Negro king, and caused him to

form a proper estimate of his nothingness, rather than his power and greatness. I could not gather, from any observations made, what was the opinion of his Majesty, whether he approved or disapproved of the capturing of slaves; but as he must have felt that it was against his own interests, his cautious silence may perhaps justly be construed as indicating a dislike to it. The whole transactions of the day, and the king's reply, did not lead me to expect a favourable result from further negotiations with him; though, as the chief design of the Mission had not been even hinted at, it would have been wrong to have expressed a decided opinion. The Commissioners, therefore, determined on a personal interview with him on the following day.

Sept. 4 — The interview determined on yesterday took place this afternoon, in the same court-yard as on the day previous. The ceremonies were the same as those described before, except that the king had the good sense not to let the Commissioners wait for his appearance, as we had done. As the king had assumed such a high air, it was deemed desirable to do every thing that could be devised to give him a deep impression of the importance of the Commission;

which therefore left the "Albert" under a salute ; and six marines formed a guard of honour, one at the head blowing a bugle. The crowd of people was immense, all admiring the fine soldiers. The terms of the treaty were made known to the king, through our Interpreter, William Johnson, who managed the business remarkably well, so that every body was pleased with his manner. It relieved me of many fears I had before entertained. The king agreed to all, without an exception. He now and then made a remark, and inquired after things which, at first mentioning, did not appear clear to him ; and every word he said, or remark he made, fully proved that he understood what was said to him. He wished to know whether he might send two of his sons to England, to receive a better education ; and whether they would be treated with kindness. When the subject of the abolition of human sacrifices was brought before him, he wished to learn what the opinions of the Commissioners were, in case his dominions should be invaded by another power, and he be obliged to make war, to prevent his own people being ill treated, carried away, or killed. The terms of the treaty were more fully explained to him. He was told that they did not

mean to interfere with him in wars for his own defence, but merely to abolish the practice of sacrificing human beings for religious purposes. At this proposition one of the eunuchs laughed most heartily; but as he expressed the emotions of his heart in no other manner, it is difficult to guess what occasioned it. Perhaps the custom of the country hitherto may throw some light on this; for though the expression of his countenance, in laughing, gave me an impression that it had arisen from contempt, it may be that the prospect of gaining an earthly existence, or rather a duration of it for a short time longer, by this clause, caused his heart to cheer up. Hitherto it has been the custom of the country, at the death of every king, to sacrifice his favourite wife, and ten eunuchs, to secure society to the king in the next world. Whether they offer human sacrifices on any other occasion I cannot say with certainty; but I consider it very probable.

The king was more condescending than yesterday, and allowed the whole company to shake hands with him. When it came to my turn, I took the liberty of addressing him with the regular Hausa salutation addressed to great people and kings: "Alla bah ka yawa raï!"—"God give you

long life!"—to which he replied, "Amin, amin!" When all was over and settled, he called for the two White Mallams, Mr. Müller and myself. Mr. Müller took the opportunity of explaining to him why we could not go on with the business the following day, and why we kept that day holy; but the list of presents annexed to the treaty having been brought before him and explained, he became more interested in that than in the ordinances and institutions of our religion. The whole business might have been concluded this evening, if a light could have been procured; but the king had not even a palm-oil lamp; and candles could not be expected. Pieces of broken calabashes were smeared over with palm-oil, and lighted, which did not give light enough to write or read. The finishing of the palaver was therefore postponed till Monday next; and the "Albert" took us over to the opposite side of the river, where the "Wilberforce" and "Soudan" were at anchor, cutting fuel preparatory to proceeding higher up the river.

Sept. 5: Lord's Day—This day was kept holy by all the ship's company; and seldom have I enjoyed a day of rest more than this. I engaged in the religious services with benefit to my

own soul; and trust that, through the Divine Blessing, they served for the edification of others. The weather was fine; sunshine all the day; yet a cool air, so that it was very pleasant under the awning. Several cases of fever occurred in the "Albert" and the "Soudan" since Friday last: one man is in a dangerous state. No illness to speak of in our vessel. May the Lord be gracious unto us, and spare our lives to accomplish the work which He has put into our hands! and, if it should please Him, who is all wise, to call us hence, may He prepare us for another and a better world!

Sept. 6—I was called on board the "Albert" this morning, with the Haussa Interpreters. I cannot understand the people well, when they talk fast; but trust my ears will soon become familiar with their sounds. The weather was gloomy; my mind much depressed; and I was brought still lower by a melancholy accident which took place. William Johnson, the Interpreter, fell overboard, and was drowned. I saw him struggling with the waves, and endeavouring to lay hold of a canoe; but he could not succeed. Three canoes, containing nearly a hundred persons, were alongside; but—oh the hardness of heart!—none moved a finger to assist him. Our own people got into

the boats, and did all they could; but were too late:—he sunk; and not even his body could be found. When he acted as Interpreter on Saturday last, he gave much satisfaction to all. Though I felt gratified at the choice of Interpreters which I made, yet nothing was more painful to my mind than the recollection of having sent for him upon the arrival of the Expedition, and informing him that I was anxious he should be so employed. I felt, however, most of all grieved, fearing that he was not quite sober when so suddenly called into eternity. I knew him for several years, as a communicant of our Church; but I do not recollect that he was ever charged with, or suspected of, the crime of drunkenness. He left a daughter, about fifteen years of age, with one of our schoolmasters, John Attarra, at Wellington: she is his only child. I see how necessary it is to watch closely over this people. William Johnson remained on shore on Saturday evening, without permission; and was surrounded by friends and relations, who treated him, though without any evil intention, still very cruelly, by giving him too much palm-wine, or country beer, to drink. He had before been in a state of mental excitement, which various circumstances were

calculated to produce; and was so betrayed into a weakness, by which he lost his life.

I must now say a few words about the place and people. The kingdom under the king of Iddah is called Eggarra. I have frequently heard it called Igalla. Interchanging the letters *r* and *l* for each other is not at all uncommon among the tribes of Africa. Eggarra, however, seems most prevalent, and therefore must be considered the standard. The extent of his kingdom has, I believe, not been sufficiently ascertained. It is a piece of information which is not easily obtained; because those who are best qualified to give it cannot be asked without the risk of exciting some suspicious feeling in their minds: and, on the other hand, it is well known that each king or chief endeavours to make White people believe that himself is the greatest of all, and that all other kings are tributary to him.

The town, Iddah*, is beautifully situated, on a hill, on the left bank of the river: its exact geographical situation will be stated by persons better

* The hill and cliffs upon which the town stands are very correctly delineated in Captain W. Allen's beautiful "Picturesque Views on the Niger," p. 10, published by Murray, Albemarle Street.

qualified for it than myself. The population of Iddah is not overrated at five or six thousand. Their articles of trade are well described by Mr. Laird. No European articles of trade were exposed in the market. The houses are nearly all built of a conical shape ; some of bricks, made by the Natives, merely exposed to the sun and dried ; but as the clay seems of a good quality, the bricks might be much improved by European industry. A very few glasses, plates, or cups of European manufacture are seen in their houses ; and besides a hole to creep in, there is no other aperture through which either light or air is admitted. The walls are about twelve or fourteen inches thick, and covered with grass or bamboo. The roads, even in the town, are narrow ; and a rough grass, seven or eight feet high, grows on both sides. A few spots only of the soil are under cultivation, though it appears fertile. Stone houses might be built here, there being an abundance of sand-stone. None could be seen at Ibo. Whether lime can be procured, I cannot say. I have seen no oyster-shells, from which it might be made, as is done along the coast ; neither do I suppose that the limestone can be found in the neighbourhood.

The people seem harmless and good-natured. They never asked for rum: all they begged for was writing-paper; but knowing for what purpose it was asked, I did not feel disposed to let them have any. If it had been for the purpose of learning to write, or to keep their accounts, I should have obliged them with much pleasure; but to the system of selling charms I can render no assistance. I was frequently asked for a leaf of my pocket-book; and one written over would have been a very valuable present, and, of course, a most effectual charm, being written by a White Mallam. The bulk of the people are pagans; but the Mahomedans must have exercised a considerable influence over them, there being no idol publicly exposed at Iddah, though many other marks of superstition were observed. It does not appear as if the Mahomedans felt anxious to convert the lower classes to their belief; probably because they are not able to pay them well for their charms, and for offering up prayers in their behalf. They have many converts among the higher classes; who have, at least, learned how to despise others, and to speak contemptibly of them, as Kafiris. None of the Mallams I met with at Iddah are capable of teaching. Not one

of the king's own Mallams was able to sign his name to the treaty; and the king escaped the exposure of his ignorance by saying "That a king never did any thing so servile or menial as to write his own name." The Mallams are not merely teachers, they also carry on trade: their former occupation, however, is undoubtedly the most lucrative of the two, since their ministerial labours consist chiefly in selling charms. Though Christians and Mahomedans differ widely in their respective creeds, there is, at least, one point in which both agree — the abhorrence of human sacrifices. Great pleasure was manifested when the subject was introduced, and the king pledged his word to abolish them: they shook the Interpreter's hand most heartily, in expression of their approbation of the measure.

The people, in general, appear very healthy, and of a strong constitution. Our medical men were on shore, and inquired at two or three places whether there were any sick people to whom they might administer medicine; but there were none to be found, except such as were troubled with yaws and craw-craw, diseases very common, but not much feared by the Black people. Whether the situation of Iddah would agree with

Europeans, is another question, no trial having ever been made. The situation is much better than Ibo: yet even this proves little; for though the town itself stands on elevated ground, it is almost surrounded by swamps; and I have no hesitation in saying that the dry season must be very unhealthy. At present there is little or no malaria, the whole surface of the country being covered with water; but when the water shall recede, and the sun begin to operate on the mud, there will be much malaria created. There is, therefore, no ground on which I could consistently recommend it as a Missionary Establishment for European Agents. Here, again, we feel our helplessness, and need of Native assistance. Something, however, is gained by the treaty which the Attah has signed; by which he is bound, not only to tolerate Christian Teachers, of whatever complexion, but to protect them and their property. I am extremely tired and sleepy: it is late. Our vessel is aground*.—Some cases of fever among our people, and some new cases on board the "Albert."

* The "Wilberforce," unfortunately, ran aground on English Island, near the town of Iddah, when on the point of proceeding up the river. The "Soudan" proceeded alone.

Sept. 7—Every possible exertion was made to-day to get the “Wilberforce” afloat again; but in vain. I got up this morning with much headache, a little fever, and prostration of strength—foreboding illness. The heat was great, and the cabin too close to spend the day in it. A simple dose of medicine relieved me much; so that in the afternoon I could apply myself to the study of the Haussa. One man finished his earthly career on board the “Albert” last night. Our hopes of getting the vessel off again are very low. The only prospect which we have left us, humanly speaking, is the rising of the river.

Sept. 8—Much rain through the night. The “Wilberforce” was afloat again before breakfast; and we returned thanks to God, who had mercifully delivered us from our distressing situation. The river appears to have risen in the night about six inches.

In the hasty description of Iddah, and of the transaction with the king, I omitted to give an opinion about something which struck me at the time the king expressed his desire of sending two of his sons to England for education. I am aware that my advice is not needed in the matter, and that the entire omission

would be no great loss; yet I may as well state it, though superfluous. The proposal is of such a nature as appears, at first hearing, most desirable; yet the results, in various instances, have shown that those benefits have not been obtained by it which had been so fondly anticipated. But if future trials of this kind should be in contemplation, it should be borne in mind, that, in many of the kingdoms of Africa, the eldest son is not necessarily heir to the throne. I have heard at this place that the king chooses and appoints his own successor; and another account was, that his eldest brother always succeeds him; but which of the two is correct, I am unable to decide. The information which I have been able to collect on this subject, from the Bulloms and Sherbros, plainly proves that the people would be too much prejudiced in favour of their long-accustomed habits and superstitions than to select a king whose views would differ so widely from their own, wherever an elective power is lodged in them. The hopes, therefore, of seeing an educated Christian king ascend the throne of an African kingdom would almost continually be disappointed. But as they would still be numbered among the principal people, and

would have opportunities of doing good, it is very desirable that the means of raising them above the common level should, as far as prudent, be used; and settlements along the coast would perhaps offer greater facilities, and be more appropriate than England.

We were favoured with a strong tornado* this evening. They are not pleasant at the time, but confer a great blessing upon us: we always hail their appearance with joy. — Some of our own people very ill with fever. I felt truly thankful at seeing that we are nearly ready for our departure from this place, because we may hope that we shall enjoy better health in the hilly country, near the Confluence.

Sept. 9—Early this morning we left Iddah, and proceeded up the river. The country every moment becomes finer in appearance, and, it may be hoped, healthier also. Oh, may the change of air and scenery prove beneficial to our poor sufferers! I was much pleased with their conversation this morning: their hearts were open towards me; and they were convinced that I bore

* The "Albert" having remained until now to assist in getting us afloat, got under weigh and sailed up the river, in company with the "Amelia," during the tornado.

them in mind at the Throne of Grace. How pleasing it was to hear them express their strong confidence in God, and acknowledge Him as the only Helper and Healer! They appeared to take courage, when I told them through how many fevers I had graciously been preserved, by God's Almighty arm.

I feel that I ought to say a few words about the country and people inhabiting the banks of the river opposite Iddah; but having had no opportunity of landing there, I can state nothing from personal observation. With the kind permission of Dr. Pritchett, I make use of his notes, which contain the sum and substance of all I could collect from other persons, and which I here literally quote:—

“The ‘Wilberforce’ moved from her anchorage near Iddah, September 4th, to the opposite side of the river, for the purpose of obtaining wood; our coals getting short. This shore is low and swampy; but abounds with trees, which we commenced cutting. However, about noon, a number of Natives, armed with bows and arrows, and short broad knives stuck in a girdle, made their appearance, and seemed inclined to make some resistance. One of our men, understanding their

language, Benin, made them acquainted with our peaceful objects and our want of wood, and that we intended them no harm; at which they were satisfied. We proceeded to the town, about five miles distant. On landing near the river, we had to wade through mud and swamp; but the road very soon improved, and we passed through a fine dry country, remarkably well cultivated, and in excellent order; plantains, yams, Indian-corn, and cotton being the principal occupants of the soil. We were met on the road by numerous parties of inhabitants, bringing goats, yams, &c. for sale. One of the principal men showed us the way to Wappa, the chief town, which we reached in about an hour and a half; when we were requested to wait under a large tree at the entrance of the village, while our arrival was announced to the Chief of the town, who soon after sent to express his willingness to receive us. We were here surrounded by some hundreds of a most savage-looking and well-armed race, bearing poisoned arrows and large knives. Their object appeared to be curiosity to see the White People, whom they had never seen before. The Chief shook hands with us, and expressed his great pleasure at seeing White People in his

country. He hoped we would return to him by and bye; when he would get plenty of wood, and every thing else ready for us that we might require. The Chief's name, as given by himself, is Egada Yabulama; and, from the information we could obtain, he appears to be under the jurisdiction of the King of Benin, whose name is Obah, and who sacrifices three human beings every day; one at sun-rise, the other at noon, and the third at sun-set. From the number of armed able-bodied men which we saw, this would appear to be a most powerful people; but from their having so confined ideas about numbers, this could not be ascertained; though the Interpreter stated that 10,000 armed men could be raised, if required."

The heat was very great to-day; the thermometer 86° in the afternoon; but a tornado cooled the air much. The scenery was delightful all day, but more especially toward the evening, as we approached the mountains* and could inhale cooler air. Several canoes, containing about forty or fifty persons each, passed us, going down the river. One came to us, offering a miserable horse,

* These are part of the Kong mountains, or rather hills, through which the Niger flows. Their estimated height is from 1200 to 1500 feet above the level of the river.

and a dog of the same description, for sale. What use they thought we could make of the former, I am at a loss to say; and of the latter, we were not in need for food, and therefore gladly left them such luxuries. Several villages were seen of a better appearance than those below; but we had no intercourse with the Natives.

Sept. 10 — We were again on our way early this morning. The scenery made me for a moment forget that I was in Africa. The high and rocky hills, both near and at a distance, put me in mind of the ruined castles on the Rhine, to which they bore a greater resemblance than any thing I have ever seen. But what a pity that they are so barren and unfruitful! The whole aspect was uncommonly pleasing to the eye; but not so to the mind that wishes well to Africa and to her children, which could receive no other impression than that of disappointment, at the barrenness of the country, and of the impossibility of improvement by the hand of industry. The country appears thickly peopled; but nothing but yams and Indian-corn is cultivated, and that only on a few spots close to the river. Whole villages were inundated; and the roofs of the houses were either resting on the

ground or swimming in the water. The Natives must either live a migratory kind of life, and build houses at different places for the two seasons in which the year naturally divides itself in Africa; or the river must be unusually high, and have driven them from their abodes. The former supposition seems most probable*.

At this moment, 1 o'clock P.M., we are at anchor near Beaufort Island, which is almost overflown. It cannot, at any spot, be more than twenty or twenty-five feet from the water†, and only a few dry spots between the rocks are under cultivation. There are two or three villages on it; from which the inhabitants came to us in little canoes, with yams, eggs, and a little rice, tastefully packed up in small bags made of grass. They speak the Nufi language. Their apparel was a country cloth around their loins, with which all, whom we saw, were provided. It was somewhat different below this place; the children of both sexes, about twelve years of age, or even to fourteen, being almost invariably in a state

* The river, it was afterwards learnt, was unusually high this year.

† Dr. Stanger, who, I believe, landed on the island, considers it considerably higher.

of nature. I feel strongly impressed that the country in which we now are is the healthiest we have seen, since entering the river. The banks above Beaufort Island are high and rocky, so that no malaria can rise from them; and if, as is said, the bed of the river consists of sand instead of mud, nothing is to be apprehended at the receding of the water.

Still much sickness in all our vessels. Some of our people appear improving, but two or three are dangerously ill. I feel glad in the anticipation that we shall arrive at the Confluence tomorrow. As long as I am merely in the vessel, and looking at the country and people from a distance, I feel as if I were not in the path of duty, and my time spent to no purpose.

Sept. 11—About 8 o'clock this morning we cast anchor, at Adda Kuddu, one of the places proposed to be purchased from the King of Iddah; and are now within four or five miles from the Confluence of the Tshadda and the River Niger. The immediate neighbourhood, or banks of the river, do not appear well suited for cultivation, consisting of large rocks. There is not any town—or village, as I can find, near our anchorage. Toward noon, however, large canoes, full of people,

approached us, the first who have as yet come near us; and in one of the canoes was the Chief of the town called Shimri, on the opposite or Tshadda side. He was accompanied by his musicians, and several eunuchs. It appears, from their statement, that a few months since they were driven away from this side by the Fulatahs; who committed great ravages, and carried away many of the inhabitants as slaves, obliging the rest to seek for shelter on the other side of the Tshadda, or the "Black Water*," as they call it.—A site for the intended Model Farm was partially inspected to-day; but I believe that the Commissioners arrived at no decision.

I have before mentioned, that from the circumstance of the houses being built in such situations as to be liable to be washed away when the river rises, I drew the conclusion that they were merely intended for the dry season; but to-day I learned that the river has not been so high as it is at present for the last twenty years. For this information I am indebted to the Mallam on board the "Albert," on whose authority this is now stated.

* Called *baki nrua*, in Haussa. It does not appear that they can express black and blue by different words.

I was sorry to learn, on meeting the other vessels, that the "Soudan" had lost one man by fever, on the 9th instant. Another followed him from the "Wilberforce" this evening; and the lives of several more are still in the most precarious condition:—another fresh case of fever on board the "Wilberforce." The country we are now in, the clear air, and dry atmosphere we enjoy, would cause us to doubt that the climate could be dangerous, were it not for the sick and the dying by whom we are surrounded. I pray for them; I pray with them; and their sick beds have taught me many a lesson. I cannot speak of decided cases of sick or death-bed conversions; but I have had pleasing proofs that my feeble assistance was acceptable, and, I trust, blessed by God to them. Of some, I am certain that they have not engaged in this Expedition for the sake of double pay, but were actuated by better and nobler motives; and to them belongs the promise of the Saviour, that they *shall in no wise lose their reward*. I feel much supported by the assurance that many prayers are offered up in distant lands, on our behalf, by the friends of the great cause in which we have the honour to be engaged.

The heat to-day was great—87° at 5 P.M.—but by no means oppressive. I was very well all day. The only inconvenience I felt arose from the want of sound sleep. I am covered with the prickly-heat, which made me feel all night as if I was lying on needles.

Sept. 12: Lord's Day—Another death on board the "Albert" last night, and several persons still very ill in each of our vessels. There is no knowing what another day may bring forth. If ever I felt the importance and responsibility of a Minister of the Gospel, it was to-day. Our Service was, to my mind, a solemn one. I administered the Sacrament, for the first time, on board the "Wilberforce." The Service was held on the quarter-deck: behind me was the lifeless corpse of N——, a sailor, who expired last night; before me an attentive audience, of as many as could be spared from their work; on deck were the carpenters making a coffin; on the forepart of the vessel were seven persons dangerously ill of fever; and at a few yards from us was the "Albert" lying, with the usual sign of mourning—a lowered flag. I spoke on the right state of mind which we ought to possess at the approach of death. My text was taken from the Acts, 7th

chapter, the last two verses. It was not a studied sermon: it came from the heart, and, if I am not mistaken, found its way to the heart. The sailor was buried by myself, at Adda Kuddu, this evening. I heard of no new case of sickness to-day; and was thankful when I observed that some of our people were, to all appearance, improving. I could truly and fully enter into the feelings of one man, when he told me that he hoped, by God's mercy, to be spared and permitted to see his wife and child once more: the chord of sympathy was powerfully touched by this expression of his desire. The Natives were very quiet: not a single person was seen near us. They were told yesterday that we kept this day holy. The heat was great, the thermometer being 87° late in the evening in the shade.

Sept. 13—We were all permitted once more, to open our eyes in the land of the living. To have heard of the departure of one or more would have been less unexpected, than to learn that all were still alive. No improvement, however, since this morning, in any of the sick. We remained at our anchorage till late in the evening; when we removed to Sterling Hill, and inspected the long-looked-for place for a Model Farm: it was not,

I believe, decided whether a trial should be made here. I regret to say, that it does not appear to me well suited for the purpose; though it is certainly the best site, close to the river, which we have seen. The place would answer well enough for a fort.

The King of Iddah has sent his second Judge, agreeably to his promise, to see how matters stood—and also to receive the payment of cowries which had been promised, after the land had been selected by the Commissioners, and made over to the Queen. His Honour appears to be very sensitive. He considered himself slighted, not being made so much of as he had expected: his feelings were so much wrought upon, that tears were in his eyes, though there was not the slightest occasion for it. Our vessel was in great confusion, by the concourse of Natives from all directions: the noise was very bad for our poor invalids. They brought but a few things for sale—chickens, ducks, goats; beer made of Guinea-corn, none of which was purchased; and a few eggs. The best of all was honey—to my taste as delicious as any I ever tasted, and in considerable quantity. I inquired after bees-wax, but could not ascertain whether they

had any: a little, no doubt, they must have had. Their language was chiefly Nufi: a few only spoke Hausa, and they were strangers at the place. I was not a little surprised on observing that one of the Mallams wore a silk tobe of native manufacture. The weaving was done remarkably well, but the cloth was only three inches wide: the needle-work on it was done very tastefully. I was told that the silk was the produce of the Bornou country; that the tobe had been made there also; and that the price paid for it was 30,000 cowries. The silk could not weigh less than seven or eight pounds.

I felt the heat very much all day: a strong wind in the evening was very welcome. I was glad of the opportunity of learning a few Hausa words from our visitors. My ears have become gradually acquainted with the sound; and I was able to take down many sentences of their conversation, which confirmed the correctness of my grammatical observations. I long for the time when I shall be chiefly surrounded by Hausa People, and have opportunities enough to enlarge my Vocabulary and correct and improve my translations.

Sept. 14—Another death on board the “Albert”

last night; and one of our men on board the "Wilberforce" expired at 8 o'clock this morning. Several new cases of fever. It is impossible to say to what the unhealthiness of the country must be ascribed. The appearance of it is very pleasant. The morning was delightfully cool: toward noon, however, it became hot, and continued so till after sun-set. I really envied the Natives, who could through the heat of the day stretch themselves on deck, under the awning, without committing a breach of good manners. It required exertion to speak or to walk about slowly. Sitting down in the cabin was like being in an oven. I do not recollect that I ever felt any thing equal to the heat in Sierra Leone.

The bargain for the land for the Queen was concluded to-day. The accredited agents of the Attah made over to the Crown of England the land from Beaufort Island to Sterling Hill inclusive, an extent of about twenty-five miles, with the right of the river, or the free navigation of it. It may be hoped that sufficient of suitable land will be found in this district for cultivation. A few weeks' trial will show whether a Model Farm can be commenced here with a reasonable hope of success. My hopes are still low. The

opinion of the cotton-planter is favourable. He considers it as good as the soil in America; and if cotton will grow, the end of its establishment may be obtained; and there is every probability that coffee will grow on the hills. At present there is no coffee in this country; and it must be very scarce in the interior, as no name can be found for it in the Hausa Language. The inhabitants of the adjacent towns and villages have expressed their joy and gladness at the prospect of seeing a British Establishment near them, anticipating many beneficial results to themselves: and one cannot help wishing and praying that God may bless the small beginning, and make it a blessing to the people. They have been much harassed and troubled for some time by the Fulatahs, and on such an establishment expect protection against them.

Several difficulties present themselves to my mind, when looking at it as a Missionary Station; which I shall mention, as they present themselves. The Native population is small; and those who would visit the Settlement, or to whom Missionaries might find access in the immediate vicinity, speak several different languages. The Eggarra is chiefly spoken on the left bank of

the river, up to the Tshadda: above the Confluence, on the same side, the Nufi Language is spoken to a considerable distance, even beyond Rabba. The inhabitants of the hills and country behind Sterling Hill speak Bunu; and on the right bank of the river, nearly to Egga, from and below the Confluence, the Kakanda Language is most generally spoken and understood. That this confusion or concourse of many languages presents a great obstacle, and is greatly calculated to retard the Missionary work, nobody will doubt. To study all of them, and reduce them to writing, is almost impracticable. Besides, if all were reduced, it would perhaps be found that not one of them would be rich enough to admit of a translation of the Scriptures being made: the Natives could, therefore, only be instructed and addressed for a considerable time through Interpreters. Possibly, Natives of all these languages might be induced to leave Sierra Leone, and become teachers of their own country-people, and in this manner great assistance would be rendered to Missionaries; but as long as there is no translation of the Word of Life to read and explain to them, great results cannot, humanly speaking, be expected. Shall English be intro-

duced? If that should be deemed proper, I would, at all events, suggest that the Native Languages should be reduced so far as to enable the teacher to explain and circumscribe the meaning of the English in their own languages. Or should one of the Native Languages be well cultivated, and become the general language of instruction? This would, in my opinion, be easier and preferable to the introduction of English; and as the Haussa is now, to these parts of Africa, what the French is to Europe, I cannot see why that should not become the standard. It is partly reduced. Haussa People, or such as have obtained a knowledge of that language, are found in almost every village from Iddah; and the more you advance, the more general it becomes. The Haussa, too, does not labour under the difficulties as do other languages. It is rich, and admits of additional number of words being formed legitimately; and the influence which Mahomedanism has gained over the people in the interior has supplied it with many religious terms and words which we sought for in vain among the vocabularies of Pagan nations.

At present, I can only speak of these obstacles: time will show whether the place is healthy;

whether protection will be afforded to Missionaries; and whether access to the place can be readily obtained. All I can say of the people is in their favour. Many tribulations and distresses which they have suffered from their oppressors, and the temporal advantages of peace and security which they would derive in the event of a Settlement being formed here, might be considered as the harbingers of the Gospel. This has ever been the method of God. Sometimes He prepared the way before His servants by wars, to bring low every thing that exalteth itself in His sight; and at other times, by sending deliverance in a manner that could not have been anticipated, and thus making known His mercy and love to the children of men.

CHAP. IV.

ARRIVAL AT THE CONFLUENCE — MR. SCHÖN REJOINS THE “ALBERT”—
 VISIT OF THE HEADMAN OF GANDEH—ILLNESS OF MR. NIGHTINGALE,
 ASSISTANT SURGEON OF THE “ALBERT”—NEW CASES OF FEVER, AND
 REMARKS THEREON — DEATH OF MR. NIGHTINGALE — RETURN OF
 THE “SOUDAN,” WITH THE SICK, TO THE SEA — INDISPOSITION OF
 CAPTAINS WM. ALLEN AND COOK—AFFLICTIVE APPEARANCE OF THE
 “WILBERFORCE”—SIMON JONAS LEAVES, TO VISIT OBI OF ABOH—
 RETURN OF THE “WILBERFORCE” TO THE SEA — ILLNESS OF CAP-
 TAIN BIRD ALLEN—ARRIVAL AT KELEBEH—NOTICES OF THE INHA-
 BITANTS OF LILĒMU — VISIT OF THE CHIEF OF MUYE — NOTICES
 RESPECTING MUYE—ARRIVAL AT GORI, AND VISIT TO THE MARKET—
 ARTICLES OF TRADE — SUBJECTION OF GORI TO THE ATTAH OF
 IDDAH—HEADMEN OF MUYE, WITH SLAVES, VISIT THE VESSEL —
 ARRIVAL AT BEZZANI, AND NOTICES OF IT—DISREGARD OF HUMAN
 LIFE MANIFESTED — NOTICES RESPECTING KINAMI — OPINIONS OF
 THE NUFĪ PEOPLE RESPECTING THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL
 AND FUTURE STATE OF EXISTENCE—POPULATION OF KINAMI, AND
 FURTHER NOTICES OF IT.

SEPT. 14 [*continued*]—Arrangements are now making for the “Wilberforce” to enter the Tshadda, and for the “Albert” and “Soudan” to proceed up the Niger. The novelty attending a journey to people and countries hitherto not visited by Europeans tempted me much to continue

in the "Wilberforce;" but when I considered that the Niger would, in all probability, present better places for Missionary labours, I deemed it best to pursue the course which duty pointed out to me, and therefore proposed to Captain Trotter to rejoin the "Albert." The other Commissioners, having perused my Instructions, gave it as their opinion that the Niger fell more within my sphere than the Tshadda. As Mr. Müller made no objection to an interchange of place and duties, and all other objections being removed, I to-day, took up my abode on board the "Albert," and Mr. Müller went on board the "Wilberforce." Should any thing occur of interest to the Missionary world in the Tshadda, it will not be lost, as Mr. Müller feels equally interested in the great Cause, and will no doubt give a correct account of what may take place. I feel anxious now to leave, and proceed more into the interior.

Sept. 15—We were all permitted once more to open our eyes in the land of the living. I feel generally no small degree of anxiety till the first question, "How are the sick this morning?" is answered. I saw the whole of them; and administered consolation, as far as I was able. It grieved me much to learn that it had been said

by several persons, that to be seriously spoken to was not calculated to encourage sick people to hope for recovery. Yet the Minister's duty is plain; and wofully deceived must that mind be, to whom a word of comfort and consolation, spoken, as it were, on the brink of the grave, proves a source of annoyance! Spirit from on high, be Thou our Teacher!

Another Headman from the side of the Tshadda came on board this morning. He is Chief of a town called Gandeh: his name is Sumobu. He confirmed the statement of others respecting the Tshadda being an inconsiderable river in the dry season, and so much reduced that a person can wade through it. The town of Gandeh has been but lately built, and cannot be in a prosperous state. The Chief was anxious to learn whether the English would permit them to return, under their protection, to the country which had just been purchased. It is a testimony in favour of the situation chosen for a farm, that all the Natives prefer it, on account of its fertility, to the other side, which they say is not good.

Though the people here, and especially those of the higher classes, bear some external marks which show that the religion of the False Prophet

has gained some influence over them, yet they are generally found to know very little of that system, and have no historical knowledge whatever of its founder: their opposition to Christianity will, therefore, never be great. They are anxious to learn something better, and it does not matter much to them from whom they learn it. The Fulatahs have lately told them that they will soon be troubled on every side; that the White People will come upon them from the sea, and themselves from the interior. They are, however, now fully convinced that they have nothing to fear from us. It must be evident to them that we are their friends; and their expressions toward us fully show that they appreciate the friendship of England.

Another ministerial experience. Since I wrote the above, Mr. Nightingale, Assistant Surgeon of the "Albert," sent for me. He was very ill, and could say but little expressive of his hope of a future life. I engaged with him in prayer to Almighty God. Sickness is increasing; but I trust that it has a salutary influence upon us. The means of Grace are more improved, our Morning and Evening Prayers being attended by all.

The articles belonging to the Model Farm

were partly landed to-day; and the tents put up, which give the hill a very fine appearance.

Sept. 16 — Mr. Nightingale in a dying state; Mr. W—— getting worse every hour; and several seamen appear near the grave. New cases of fever occurred in the course of the day, both on board the “Wilberforce” and the “Soudan.” There are now forty-seven Europeans, two West Indians, and one East Indian, laid up with fever. A description of the fevers does not belong to my province: it will undoubtedly be given by our excellent Medical Officers in due time, if they should be spared. They are unremitting in their exertions; exposing themselves so much, that serious apprehensions are entertained for their safety. But, as I cannot be an unconcerned spectator, and as I am continually looking at each event in its bearing upon Missionary undertakings, and in writing have nothing more in view than the information of a Missionary Committee, I shall be excused a few remarks of my own on the fevers existing here. The general character of the fever appears to me to be what in Sierra Leone is always considered a very bad type. Perhaps Dr. Fergusson would call it the “River Fever.” The heat of the skin is not very

great, the fever being low and almost without any intermission, attended with entire prostration of strength, in general without much pain. Calomel does not produce salivation, at least I have not seen a single case of it. Persons recovering from it continue extremely weak, and as helpless as infants, for a long time; and are very liable to relapses, by the least exposure.

The Commissioners have hitherto been favoured with good health; and our prayer to God is, that they may be preserved, and enabled to go on in their important work. At present, our prospects are dismal and gloomy; but the Lord is our light, and He will direct our paths. I cannot be thankful enough to the Author and Giver of every good gift for the measure of health I enjoy. I feel, at times, that I am in Africa, and not altogether free from the effects of an enervating climate; but I have never been obliged to lay by, or to have recourse to strong remedies. I merely take simple aperients, and now and then quinine. Were I to follow the natural desire of my heart, I should be about, among the people, all day, while lying at anchor at this place; but as I daily witness the bad effects of exposure, I deem caution to be not misapplied.

We may hope that, through God's tender mercy, better days will come; and that, after a night of darkness, the sun will rise again upon us.

Sept. 17 — Early this morning, as was fully expected yesterday, Mr. Nightingale finished his earthly career, and entered, I humbly trust, the mansions in our Father's house above. He was an amiable young man; and, from several conversations which I had with him, I am led to believe that his hope for acceptance with God was in Jesus Christ. How uncertain is every thing in this world! It is but a short time since I was congratulating him on his healthy appearance. Africa seemed to agree with him very well; but how soon was it otherwise! Fifty-five this morning were on the sick list, and no decided marks of improvement, in any case. Another seaman expired at noon: I buried him and Mr. Nightingale this evening. Their graves are close to the palm-trees, near Stirling Hill, so beautifully represented in Captain Wm. Allen's "Views of the Niger." Two were buried there a few days ago; and two at a place lower down, called Adda Kuddu; so that the remains of six now rest in the ground which has been purchased for England from the Attah of Iddah.

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A solemn feeling pervades our morning and evening devotions, which are regularly kept up, and prove a blessing, I trust, to all of us. This evening, before Prayers, we sang the beautiful hymn,

Why do we mourn departing friends,
Or shake at death's alarms?
'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends,
To call them to his arms.

The singing was led by an old weather-beaten sailor, and all present joined in it with feelings of no common nature. Never was music more charming to my heart!

No change for the better in any of the sick this evening; and I am much afraid that the complaints of several more will terminate in fever. To whom shall we seek for refuge, O Lord, but unto Thee, who for our sins art justly displeased!

I learned this evening that Captain Trotter had resolved to send one of the vessels, with all the invalids, to the sea; while the others are to pursue their course as soon and as far as they shall be able. The "Albert" is fixed upon to return; so I shall take up my abode on board the "Soudan." I am truly glad of this opportunity afforded to the poor sufferers, by which many are likely to

be benefitted. May the Lord of all mercy cause the light of His countenance to shine upon them, that they may be healed!

Sept. 18—Another arrangement this morning. The "Soudan" will return, instead of the "Albert:" the former was at first considered not large enough to contain all the sick comfortably. It was a day of much excitement on board all the vessels. I was called upon to see Mr. W——, in the "Soudan," who was very ill both in body and mind. *What shall I do to inherit eternal life?* was the chief concern of his heart. I trust that he received some consolation from the sweet and precious promises of Scripture; attesting, as they so frequently do, that God has *no pleasure in the death of a sinner*, and that none who come to Christ, truly penitent, shall be cast out.

New cases of fever. Our minds and our time are almost wholly occupied with the sick; and yet how little is it that we can do for them! I feel more of my own insufficiency every day. Our situation becomes more perplexing every hour: it is difficult to know what to do.

Sept. 19—The "Soudan" left this afternoon for the sea. We hope and pray that this change may prove beneficial to them. Divine Service

was held, twice, on board the "Albert." The congregations were small, but attentive and devout. Several cases of indisposition have terminated in fever, of a type equally as bad as the rest.

The increase of the number of invalids determined the Commissioners to send the "Wilberforce" also down to the coast; and the "Albert," though thinly manned, will proceed up the Niger. I cannot express, in words, my feelings of disappointment at these events; for if my anticipations prove correct, we shall all soon be on our way back to the coast, without accomplishing the object of our Mission. The river is said to be falling: if so, it must be inconsiderable; for it appears to me that a little rain always brings it to its former height. It is almost certain, that if the Expedition should be obliged now to withdraw, it could not re-ascend the river for at least eight or ten months: and whether it would then take place under more favourable circumstances, appears to me very doubtful.

Sept. 20—I am sorry to record, that two of the Commissioners, Captain Wm. Allen and Captain Cook, are ailing. Two engineers on board the "Wilberforce," and one on board the "Albert," have been seized with fever. It was thought

this morning, that both the "Albert" and "Wilberforce" must return immediately to the sea. This plan, however, was not found necessary; and it was determined that the "Albert" should remain up the river some time longer, and proceed, if possible, as far as Rabba. The patients are more likely to improve by moving, than by lying at anchor at a place against which their minds are so much, and perhaps justly, prejudiced. I am, at all events, glad that I can continue on board the vessel which will remain the longest time up the river, to do what I can under all the disadvantages of our situation: and while my heart is broken at the gloomy prospects before us, I feel some consolation in knowing that I have done what I could. Against nature, climate, and illness, it is in vain to strive. I am seeking, in public and in private prayer, God's direction; and trust He will guide us in the right way, and give us grace to submit to His sovereign will and pleasure. It is difficult to own that to be right which is apparently opposed to all our plans and hopes; and submission in all things is no easy task.

The "Wilberforce" could not get ready for her departure to-day, but will leave early to-morrow morning. She has more the appearance of a

hospital than that of a man-of-war. The quarter-deck, as well as the fore-castle and the cabins of the gun-room, are full of patients. The sight of them is enough to move a heart of stone. The active botanist, the ever-stirring mineralogist, the robust engineer, officers of every rank, and sailors who have long faced every danger, are brought low by the overpowering influence of an unhealthy climate; and the few persons who are able to be on their legs are barely sufficient to render the sick that assistance which they so much need. And to-day we had three new cases of fever. I would venture to hope, that though the fever is severe, it is not so fatal in its results as might be supposed. No deaths since the 17th instant: what may have occurred on board the "Soudan" I am unable to say. We had much rain to-day. I felt feverish, but soon got better.

I heard to-day, with much pleasure, that the "Albert" will leave to-morrow, and proceed up the Niger. In my humble judgment, this is preferable to remaining where we are. The disadvantages arising from the consumption of fuel may be obviated by proper arrangements with the Natives to prepare fire-wood for us in time.

I should have mentioned yesterday that Simon Jonas, the Ibo Interpreter, was sent down with the "Soudan" to Obi of Aboh, who wished so much to have him for some time. My prayer is, that he may be preserved from falling into any sin, and thus preach by his life and conversation. Thomas King, our Native Schoolmaster, will be left at the Model Farm, to which he was appointed at Sierra Leone. He will not be the only Religious Teacher; as there is a gentleman, Mr. Kingdon, who came out in the "Soudan" with a view to make himself useful to the Natives, wherever he should find an opening. He is in connexion with the Baptists, but not sent by them as a Missionary. Thomas King will have an opportunity for a trial until we may return, when his information will point out to me what is best to be done in his case. He may also collect some information, in the mean time, which may be useful. I directed him to apply himself as much as he could to the study of the Kakanda Language, and gave him some directions how to proceed in it; and it being, as Samuel Crowther tells us, a dialect of the Yaruba, which is Thomas King's native language, he will not find it very difficult. If the Baptist Missiona-

ries, who are at present at Fernando Po, should ascend the Niger by the "Soudan's" return, they might occupy this place as a Missionary Station at once. They would have the advantage of meeting with a person of their own persuasion, already employed as a Religious Teacher; and the question of its eligibility for a Missionary Station by our Society would soon be decided, by its admirable rule of non-interference with any Protestant Missionary Society. I have ever been doubtful of its eligibility; and perhaps the description of the occurrences of the last few days, and the repeated new cases of illness taking place here, will form another objection to those already mentioned. If the Baptists should occupy this Station, I cannot but wish them, from my heart, prosperity. Our Society might perhaps find a better place, further removed from the river, in the hilly parts of the country, should no opening present itself more in the interior, with fairer prospects.

Sept. 21—Early this morning, as was anticipated yesterday, the "Wilberforce" left for the sea. She will proceed to Ascension as early as convenient; while we in the "Albert" are about to proceed up the Niger, in humble dependence on

the help of Almighty God. We were ready for our departure early. The rattling of the paddle-wheels was fine music to our ears. The morning was very fine: our invalids seemed to enjoy it very much, and every thing was calculated to inspire us with new hopes. Our vessel is thinly manned. No more than six persons, Europeans, are able to do duty; and before night had closed upon us, even some of these complained of illness: Captain Bird Allen* is one of the number. Thus our hopes of advancing and accomplishing our objects are again involved in clouds of uncertainty. Possibly we shall soon be obliged to return on account of illness, attributable to the climate. The river is high enough; and the many villages under water prove that it must be higher than could have been anticipated. If this Expedition fail, which came out furnished with all that human ingenuity could devise for the preservation of health, and conducted in every respect with judgment, care, and caution, what other Expedition will succeed? Gloomy forebodings fill my mind: yet the Lord is able to bring light out of dark-

* Captain B. Allen left his own vessel, the "Soudan," when she went down the river, in order to act as Commissioner with Captain Trotter.

ness. He is not bound, if this plan fail: He can point out another for the regeneration of Africa, and give His blessing to rest on it.

The banks of the river, as far as we have seen them to-day, must have been better peopled than below the Confluence, as there are a great many villages; though forsaken, partly because of the overflow of the river, and partly for fear of the Fulatahs.

Kelebeh, on the right bank, at which we arrived at 3 o'clock P.M., is one of the most considerable villages. Two of the villagers came on board, offering to pilot the vessel to Bunu and show us a place where we might procure firewood. They spoke of several villages, whose inhabitants were desirous of settling near our own Establishment, expecting protection against the Fulatahs. It may be that the population of Stirling Hill, or the Farm, will soon become more numerous; and there be one objection less against its suitableness as a Missionary Station.

We anchored about 7 o'clock P.M. near a town called Lilēmu, also on the right bank. The town opposite, on the left bank, is called Atshiba. A heavy tornado, accompanied with much rain, was very welcome this evening. The inhabitants of

the right bank are subject to the Attah, as far as Buddu, formerly called Kakanda. The Chief of Buddu is appointed by the Attah, and has the right of appointing Headmen of the smaller towns. They profess Mahomedanism, carry but few charms about their persons, have no idols publicly exposed, and "pray only to God." They feel indignant that they should be considered Kafris, or Gentiles. Mahomedan teachers from Egga and other towns higher up carry on a Missionary work among them, visiting them from time to time, circumcising the boys—sometimes this is done by barbers—when they are about three or four months old, and teaching them how to pray. The prayers of the Mallams are not understood by the Natives; and all that they seem to learn, is, at certain stages of their worship to bow their heads to the ground and stretch out their arms. The Mallams receive payment for their services; and whenever the rite of circumcision is performed, they make great feasts, killing sheep, goats, and fowls. Their accounts of the ravages committed by the Fulatahs all agree; and, according to their statement, the Fulatah army is at present encamped only about a few days' journey from Kelebeh, having a great

number of horses, guns, cutlasses, bows, and arrows. They are said to have killed many people; and carried away many more, as slaves, to Rabba; from whence they are most probably sold to Katanga, finding their way through Yaruba to the sea-coast, as nearly all the Nufi and Kankanda people who were liberated at Sierra Leone were carried that way. The people are well aware of the superior strength of the Fulatahs, and therefore never offer any resistance. The Fulatahs have been described as great cowards; but the description I have heard hitherto given of them by the Natives would show the contrary. "They eat no bread, they drink no water, while they are fighting," is the common expression about them; meaning, that they do not allow themselves to be interrupted by any thing.

Sept. 22—We remained at anchor, to procure fire-wood from the Natives; and were fortunate enough to obtain two canoe-loads. The river presented a very lively appearance, by many canoes going up to attend Gori market, held on an island. It is inferior to Keri market, but better than that at Buddu. It is kept every thirteenth day, and lasts about two days. We were told that we could easily procure fire-wood there. It

is much to be regretted that we have no means of making our want of this article known to the Natives beforehand; as they would willingly get it ready, and supply it at a reasonable price, and thus spare our people much labour and exposure, and save the Expedition the loss of much valuable time. The place we are now lying at anchor at is marked Lelem, on Captain W. Allen's map*; but the Natives generally call it Lilēmu. Opposite Lilēmu, on the left bank of the river, is a nice little town, called Agiba. Barker's Mountain is called Dolli, and Elden Hills are termed Jegila.

The chief of Muye, named Aggiddi, came on board this morning. The Muye here mentioned is probably the Omeh of Captain Allen. It contains, according to the Chief's account, 2000 inhabitants, which may be nearly correct. The Chiefs of these towns are appointed by the Governor of Buddu, or Kakanda; and the Attah appoints the Governor for life. At the death of the Governor, his successor is chosen by the people, without any regard to the family of the late Governor, but subject to the approbation of the

* Chart of the "Quorra," published by the Admiralty, and sold by Bates, Poultry, London.

Attah. The river is not expected to rise higher this season, and it is said that in three months hence it will be quite low. The Natives suffer much in the dry season from fever, the small-pox, and dysentery; for which they prepare a medicine of roots and leaves, called Saboji.

The canoes which passed this morning for Gori market had but few articles of trade; such as, tobacco—grown in the country and ingeniously rolled together,—a little camwood, and ivory. They use the camwood chiefly to decorate their skin. It is mixed with clay, then beaten into a fine powder, and made up into balls of the size of a large egg, and dried in the sun. The hand is made wet, and a little of the ball rubbed off and smeared on the whole body, which gives the skin, if too much is not put on, a soft appearance. It is chiefly used by females. Fresh provisions are very scarce. We could scarcely procure fowls, ducks, and goats enough for our invalids. It is well that we are not dependent on the Natives for such things for our own maintenance. No fruit of any kind could be obtained, and yams were by no means plentiful. I was rather disappointed, having heard and read so much of the excellent Shea butter, so much

superior to English butter, without ever seeing any that I could make up my mind to taste. A little was now and then brought on board by the Natives; but always in dirty-looking calabashes, and continually pressed smooth by their hands.

About 4 o'clock P.M. we cast anchor near Gori (not marked on Captain Wm. Allen's map), on the right bank; and immediately got into our boats, to see the much-famed market. There are no more than eighty or ninety houses, which are built close together, leaving only a narrow foot-path between them; which continually winding, you are, after a few minutes' walk, unaware of your position, and can only ascertain it by the use of the compass. The water comes up close to the houses; some are even standing in it. The concourse of people was immense, as well as the number of canoes. I was much disappointed with the market. I had expected to find some English articles of commerce, indicative of some little civilization; but there was nothing of the kind. The articles exposed for sale were—salt, packed in grass bags, said to have come down from Rabba; straw-hats, some as wide as a common umbrella; a little camwood, brought, it may

be, to this place from the Ibo country; several large grass bags of cotton, in its raw state, with its seeds, a great deal of which is consumed in their own manufacture of cloth. Though I was not able to ascertain the price of cotton, I have no hesitation in saying that it could not be purchased here cheaper than in England: it is true that they might grow ten thousand times the quantity they are now growing; but until that is done, it would not be a profitable market for England. There were also some nicely-made tobies, carved calabashes, country pots, yams, Indian-corn, and Guinea-corn in abundance.

The number of people which surrounded us from the towns around could not have been less than 1400 or 1500. It was maintained by some, that people from Rabba came to visit this market, but contradicted again by others. The town and people are independent of any other King or Chief, except their own. The Chief, who is an old man, never said a single word all the time we were with him; but his deficiency was fully made up by his "Mouth," as his speaker is emphatically called. There are four other towns connected with this independent State, the names of which are as follows: Akoku, Atshira, Egbu and Arra.

Besides the articles, above mentioned, exposed for sale, there were also several calabashes of Shea butter, and one of cow butter; and an egg was offered to me in exchange for a silk handkerchief of the value of four shillings: the temptation of turning trader was therefore easily overcome. They also candidly admitted that they had slaves for sale, but we could not persuade them to show them to us. In fact, the King's "Mouth" got up, to lead us, as we expected, to the place where they were exposed; but instead of which, he showed us other places, or detachments of the market, always leaving us under the impression that we should see them soon; till at last he said that there were none; and that if there had been any at the place through the day, they would now be in the canoes. I should not be surprised that they had heard before what opinion we entertained concerning the slave-trade, and were either ashamed of it, or afraid of us.

Sept. 23—I am obliged to contradict some of the statements of yesterday; which I regret, as they are already confused enough. But it is now the time of collecting; and all I can do, is, to put down the occurrences at the close of each day. Many an hour I can do nothing. I cannot sit

down in my cabin, the heat being too great: at other times I have an opportunity of conversing with the Natives who come on board, through the medium of Interpreters: and sometimes I have a chance of hearing some people speak Haussa, and engage myself in the conversation, and collect a few words and phrases in that language: and then at night, when all is quiet around me, I sit down in my cabin, and commit to paper what I have collected through the day.

The statement that Gori forms an independent State is not correct, though it has been made by the high authority of the King's "Mouth." The Chief acknowledged, this morning, that he was subject to the Attah of Iddah. Adaku, the son of the Attah, arrived this morning on board the "Albert;" and the Chief of Gori acknowledged, in his presence, his dependence on the Attah. Gori, though in the Attah's dominions, pays a tribute to the King of the Fulatahs, annually, of 360,000 cowries; and the Attah receives no more than one horse yearly from Gori and the other four towns above mentioned. The Attah may levy troops at Gori; and in seasons of distress, Gori calls upon the Attah for protection. This fully proves their dependence on the Attah, and

also shows the wide extent of his influence. It may further be mentioned, in confirmation of their subjection to the Attah, that Adaku proclaimed to the Headman, the Judge, the King's Mouth, and the Chief Messenger, with a few more of the principal people of Gori, the law which his father made relative to the slave trade; and they all promised to obey it*. I mention these particulars to show the extent of the dominions of the Attah, and the importance of the treaty entered into with him.

The Chief Mallam stated, that the market-fees paid to the Chief of Gori were fifty cowries for each man coming in a canoe: and another statement was, that, on salt only, a market-fee was paid of fifty cowries on each bag, containing about 40lb. weight: the value of a bag I could not ascertain. Slaves are brought to Gori market from all the surrounding towns: there were five sold yesterday as we were told.

About 11 o'clock A.M. a large canoe, coming down the river, came alongside of us. The Headman and some of the people came on board, without

* Adaku left Iddah two days before us with orders from the Attah to promulgate the law of Abolition, and ought to have done so at Gori at least a week before our arrival.

the slightest apprehension of the danger into which they were running. The canoe contained three horses—miserable creatures—many calabashes, Indian-corn, and three slaves—two women and one man. The Headman was requested to let us see the slaves; who instantly, and without any suspicion, ordered them on board. The canoe belonged to the Headman of Muye, named Aggididi: the captain was his own son, called Ajimba. The Headman first stated, that he paid for the strongest and healthiest woman 40,000 cowries, and for the rest 20,000 each: he afterward said that he paid for the whole, six muskets, one keg of powder, and three fathoms of red cloth. The value of the cowries, or of the other articles, may be estimated at 5*l.* or 6*l.* sterling. The slaves were purchased but yesterday, at Egga, from one Shem, who had many more to dispose of. They were, however, liberated by Captain Trotter, for the following reasons:—The Chief of Muye is subject to the Attah, who entered into a treaty seventeen days ago to abolish the slave-trade throughout his dominions, and promised that he would publish the law immediately after the treaty was signed; and there was therefore time enough for its publication. The Attah's son was himself present at the inves-

tigation. The captain of the canoe, Ajimba, had nothing to say in his own defence; but pleaded ignorance of the law, saying, that he had been at Egga three weeks; and that if his father or himself had known any thing of the Attah's prohibition of the slave-trade, neither of them would have engaged in it. He was, on that account, treated with much lenity. According to the terms of the treaty, he had forfeited the canoe and all that was in it; but all these things were left to him, and he lost only the slaves.

Captain Trotter gave the slaves names: the man he called Albert Gori; one of the women, Hannah Buxton; and the other, Elizabeth Fry. When the women first came on board, tears rolled down their cheeks; and they sat down, never venturing to lift up their eyes. One of them had been in slavery for three years: her own husband, being jealous of her, sold her: she has been sold nine times, and transported from place to place. No doubt she thought that she had now fallen into worse hands than ever before, when she saw herself on a British man-of-war, and surrounded by beings she had never before seen. They were not, however, left long under such harassing thoughts, but were made acquainted with their condition, through

an Interpreter; were cleanly dressed and well fed; and their countenances soon began to cheer up.

Sept. 24—Early this morning we were again on our way. The weather was fine, but unusually hot—88° in my cabin. The country was much of the same character as the Delta. The river spread over a large tract of land—whole villages overflowed and desolate, and the river was difficult to navigate: the vessel touched the ground several times. About 11 o'clock A.M. we arrived at a village on the left bank, called Bezzani; and as we were in want of fire-wood, we anchored close to it: some of us landed. Bezzani is as miserable a place as any I ever saw, containing about 200 inhabitants, who speak the Nufi Language: they are extremely poor. Grown-up young men and young women were walking about in a state of nudity. The village is not above thirty yards wide, and at this season of the year it forms a complete little island. It is tributary to the Fulatahs. Here, as at other places, the Natives instantly began to talk of the Fulatahs, and to tell us that they were continually kept in a state of excitement on their account; but for what reason they told us I cannot say. They must either

suppose that we can give them protection against their fierce enemies, or that it is their intention to warn us against them.

On our returning to the "Albert," one of the Kroomen fell overboard, and the stream took him down with great rapidity. Many of the Natives were close to him in their canoes, but none moved a finger to save his life: our own boat brought him back, safe and sound. This is a bad feature in their character. They might always be sure of a reward for any service of this kind; but unless a bargain can be made with them beforehand, they will do nothing. How depraved, how hard-hearted is man by nature! How little does life appear to be valued!

We had not left Bezzani for more than an hour, when we run aground; but after a short time, we proceeded on our way, through a country which assumed a more pleasant appearance. The land on the left bank of the river is high for several miles distant, and apparently fertile; while the bank on the right forms a complete swamp several miles wide, and at least twelve miles in length. The villages become more numerous; and it affords us no small pleasure to see some of them built on elevated spots, which must be much more

healthy than those in the marshes, and may be inhabited through all seasons of the year.

We cast anchor, at half past six o'clock P.M., within a few miles of Egga.—I hope that some of our patients are convalescent. New cases of fever to-day. Captain B. Allen is apparently improving. I feel anew, every day, my obligation to be very grateful to Almighty God for the health I have enjoyed ever since I joined the Expedition. I am unworthy of this great mercy. It sometimes seems to be intended to point out to me, and, no doubt, to other persons also, that the only way to the interior, and the best preparation for it, is to become first seasoned along the coast, or in an European Settlement in Western Africa. I am afraid that I shall have no opportunity of seeing the country at some distance from the river, and thus be disqualified to give a correct and just opinion on its eligibility for Missionary Stations. I have not hitherto been able to speak, with any thing like satisfaction or confidence, of any suitable place. Along the river it will always be unhealthy, while the country may be much better ten or fifteen miles from it. I sincerely pray that we may be able to proceed as far as Rabba, from whence I hope to make excursions in all directions.

Sept. 25 — Our sick people were no worse this morning. The fever appears to me to be of a milder type than when it first broke out. God is dealing with us in much mercy: He knows our weakness and our small force. He lays by one, and raises up another, to enable us to carry on our work. We can approach His throne of grace with confidence, being employed in His service, and anxious to do His will. Were we to apply carnal reasoning, or to allow ourselves to be actuated by worldly motives or those of worldly comfort, we should all be withdrawing our hands from this most important work. But, blessed be God! He renews our strength, and causes us to *run, and not be weary, to walk, and not faint.*

We remained at our anchorage this morning for the purpose of obtaining fire-wood, near a large village called Kinami, situated on the right bank. A few of the people came on board, with fowls, sheep, goats, eggs, ground-nuts, beans, and country cloths. I endeavoured to get some information from them; which was no easy task, as the Interpreter was very much inferior to the rest, frequently misunderstanding my English, though I spoke as much in Negro-English as I possibly could. I will state a few particulars.

Kinami is subject to the king of the Fulatahs, in right of conquest. He levies an annual tax on the inhabitants of 20,000 cowries, the payment of which is rigidly exacted from them by the king's messengers. At the time it is collected, the poor people, in order to raise the sum demanded of them, are frequently obliged to sell the very clothes from their backs, as well as the few tools which they so much need for the cultivation of the soil. The deficiency is generally made up by the Fulatahs carrying away some of them as slaves. Though thus in submission to the Fulatahs, they derive no advantage from them; but, on the contrary, are kept in constant fear of them; and do not venture to leave their own town, nor build better houses, nor cultivate more land than what will afford them a scanty subsistence; apprehending that any improvements on their part would the more excite the rapacity of their haughty conquerors. I can never listen to the complaints of these oppressed countries and nations, without the greatest sympathy for them, and indignation at the proud and arrogant worshippers of the False Prophet. Truly Mahomedanism can never recommend itself much to the acceptance of the

hearts of pagans, as long as it extends its influence in this manner! What a contrast would Christian Missionaries create in such a troubled nation! and, to every reflecting mind, how disgusting would Mahomedanism soon appear!—the one bringing peace and good-will to all men—dispensing blessings both temporal and spiritual—softening the heart of men—and in nothing seeking external advantages: the other commencing its work of conversion by the spear and arrow—terrifying the poor and helpless—and seeking nothing but its own aggrandisement.

There are no slaves exposed for sale at Kinami; and if they want any for their own work, they go to Egga, to purchase them at the market, which is held every fifth day. A boy was lately taken from this place, as a slave, by some Fulatahs, and carried away to Egga. The friends of the poor boy collected as many cowries as they could, and carried them to Egga to redeem him from slavery; but the sum was not sufficient: and when they offered to return and procure more, they were told that it was of no use, he should not be ransomed; and that if they were to return again to Egga on his behalf, they would be made slaves also. The mother of the boy cried bitterly,

when she was informed of the sad result of her friends' endeavours.

Domestic slaves are kept in every village and town, and their condition differs little from that of their own proprietors. No other punishment can be inflicted by the master, for any offence, than that of flogging. In case the slave tries to make his escape, or if he commit theft or other offences more than once, he may be sold. Mutilation is not allowed here, as in the Ashanti and other countries. Murder is punished with death, both in a slave and a freeman; and if a slave commits murder, his master is fined a heavy sum of money, besides the loss of his slave. Sometimes, when a master happens to kill one of his slaves, he may, contrary to general rule, escape death by paying a great sum of cowries.

I made it my endeavour to find out what notions the Nufi People entertain respecting the immortality of the soul and a future state of existence. It is not easy to find out such things, unless you are acquainted with the language of those with whom you are conversing; which, in this instance, was not the case with me. To the question, "What would become of them after

death?" they replied, "The good man would take road again; but that the bad man could not take road again." To what place the good man would take road again, or what would become of the bad man, they could not tell me. That a good man was better off than a bad man after death, and that therefore this life had an intimate connexion with the life to come, they all agreed; but their opinion, as to whether there was a reward for the good, and a punishment reserved for the bad, I could not learn. At last, I wished them to tell me what they thought of such a case as the following:—Should a person commit murder, which all admit to be a great crime and deserving severe punishment, and neither the crime nor the person be discovered in this world, and he should therefore escape punishment, would he never be punished for it after death? They answered, that God, who knew all things, would make the murderer and the murdered person appear before Him; and that the former would be punished for his sin by God himself.—They listened to me most attentively while I explained to them the leading doctrines of the Christian Religion on these topics; and they were glad to hear that people would be sent to them who

could teach them much more than I could tell them in a short conversation.

Our men were on shore nearly all day, procuring wood: they returned with hearts moved with pity toward their own country-people, on account of the troubles which they have to endure from the Fulatahs. It was a favourable opportunity for them—some are Nufi People—to tell them much of the good-will of the English Nation toward the Africans; and it was improved by them for that purpose. The inhabitants of Kinami were rejoiced to learn that the English had formed a Settlement at the Confluence, expecting to derive protection from it against the Fulatahs, and expressed their desire to remove to the place and settle there.

I feel grieved to add, that several new cases of fever occurred to-day. There are now eighteen on the sick list, and only four or five Europeans of the ship's company able to perform duty. A heavy burden consequently falls on them; under which, humanly speaking, they cannot long resist the influence of this debilitating climate. It is well for us that the Fulatahs are not aware of our condition, as we might become an easy prey to them: but we have an Almighty Protector and

Keeper, who ever cares for and watches over us. We are brought low, but are brought nearer to Him. He is sought of us in public and in private; and His dispensations, though not *joyous*, but *grievous*, have wrought in several of our suffering companions a change of sentiment, and *repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*. “Man’s extremity is God’s opportunity.”

Sept. 26: Lord’s Day—We remained at anchor all day, it being the day of rest by God appointed. The heat was great and oppressive. There was much thunder and lightning toward evening, at a distance from us; by which we were much relieved. Our patients have not improved at all to-day. The stillness of death prevailed around us: hardly a canoe or a human being besides ourselves could be seen all day. The Natives need only be told that this day is set apart for rest and divine worship, and none will think of coming near us. Oh that they knew what it means to spend a Christian Sabbath as a type of the Rest which *remaineth to the people of God!*

Sept. 27—The population of Kinami is about 1000. The district in which it is situated is

called Bushi, commencing opposite Bachinku, and extending as far as Egga. The district contains between thirty and forty towns and villages, the inhabitants of whom are said to amount to about 30,000, all of the Nufi Nation. They are an industrious people. They make a considerable number of country-cloths, the weaving of which is excellent, considering the imperfect tools and instruments with which they work. The cotton is purchased from the left bank of the river, where it is said to grow in great abundance: the Bushi district does not produce much. They commence planting it after the first fall of rain, and five months afterward it is fit for use. The value of a bag, containing about a pound and a half, with the seeds still in it, is 400 cowries, or sixpence English money*. They also collect a small quantity of bees'-wax. Much rice is planted every year in the Bushi district; but this year's crop was destroyed by the unusual height of the river. Though there are plenty of elephants in the forest, according to the statement of the people, they have not much ivory for sale; as they have no means of killing them, and to tame

* This is about their average cost in the English Market, where their price varies considerably.

them is never attempted. They sell yams, sheep, and goats, at Egga and other towns; and obtain salt from Dohma. The Rabba People are said to obtain salt from Yauri, to which place it is brought from the interior of the Hausa Country. The price of a bag, containing, as near as I can guess, about a bushel, is 11,000 cowries. But I suspect the correctness of this information; for, considering the distance from which it comes, and the many hands through which it passes, it cannot, as far as I can judge, be sold so cheap. The Nufi Country is said to commence at Jiria, a place not marked on Captain W. Allen's Chart, nor was it possible for me to find out its correct situation; and extends beyond Rabba, under two kings or chiefs; one being called Ezu-Issa, and the other Mamajia. The former resides at Barra, about a day's journey from Egga; and the latter at Sukuma, a day's journey beyond Rabba*. Though both of them are called kings, they

* I feel satisfied that the spelling here introduced of the names of the two Nufi kings is preferable to that adopted by Lander, Laird, and Oldfield. They call the King of Barra, Ederisa—a sweet-sounding name to a polite ear; but this very circumstance renders it suspicious of being an African word or name. Issa is a proper name; and Ezu means “king,” in the Nufi Language: Ezu-Issa is, therefore, King Issa. Majia is seldom

have nothing more left to them than the mere title; both being tributary to Sumo Sariki, the king of the Fulatahs, residing at Rabba. I may here again justify the spelling I have adopted of this name. It is usually written Sumozaki. Sumo seems to be his proper name; Sariki signifying "king," in the Haussa Language, which is much spoken by the Fulatahs: literally, "Sumo the King." And when I asked the people whether Mamajia sold many slaves, they all burst out laughing, and said, "How can he sell slaves, being a slave himself to the Fulatahs?"

Their religion consists of a mixture of paganism and Mahomedanism. The latter seems to have banished idols from their towns and houses; instead of which it has supplied them with a few prayers, the meaning of which is not known. Other pagan practices are still retained. They marry as many wives as they are able to purchase. The price of one is 20,000 cowries, or 25s.; which sum is paid to the parents. The maiden's consent is never asked for; and the

seldom heard by the people with whom I have conversed, but always Mamajia, which is abridged for Mallam Majia; Majia being a proper name, and Mallam his title or name of his office.

payment of the stipulated sum, together with eating and drinking, constitute the marriage: no other ceremonies are observed on these occasions. The husband is permitted to send his wife back to her parents, if he chooses to do so, but may never sell her as a slave. The Fulatahs marry Nufi women, but never give their women in marriage to Nufi men; not, as might be supposed, from scruples of conscience, but from a dislike to the poverty of the Nufi People. The Mahomedans appear to adhere to the precepts of the Korân, with regard to the number of wives they take; and therefore are said to take only four wives. Undoubtedly, some privileged persons among them will now and then be favoured with special dispensations to add a few more, according to the example of the head of their system of lies. The Mallams are said to solemnize the marriages of the Fulatahs by offering up prayers.

As they had told me so much of their customs, I informed them that Christians never took more than one wife, and that such was the order and institution of God. They were much surprised at this; and I was particularly struck with the inquiries of one man, who asked again and again

whether we were telling the truth, and whether God had appointed it to be so. I generally received other answers, whenever I made an observation of the kind to the Sherbro People. I could scarcely ever mention the subject without exposing myself to ridicule; and if they would listen to any thing else, and believe it to be God's will and ordinance, they would never admit that God could ever have intended to restrict them to one wife: it appeared to them the absurdest thing in the world. Though the subject is one of great importance, and admits of no compromise, I hardly ever think it worth while to speak to pagans on it. It is one of the many things which they can only arrive at by degrees: and where the Spirit and the Word of God have once begun to enlighten the heart, such things will and must be found out by themselves, as contrary to the will of God, and averse to real happiness in this life. Polygamy has existed in many countries before Christianity was introduced; but as far as I recollect, it is never mentioned in history to have proved so serious an obstacle to the introduction and spread of the Gospel as might be supposed.

CHAP. V.

DEPARTURE FROM KINAMI—DEATH OF ANOTHER SEAMAN—APPRECIATION OF KIND MOTIVES—ARRIVAL AT EGGA—INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF—FRIENDLY RECEPTION—NOTICES OF THE MARKETS AND MANUFACTURES OF EGGA—FURTHER INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF—REMARKS ON THE TOWN AND PEOPLE OF EGGA—NOTICES OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE NUFU PEOPLE—DOMESTIC SLAVERY—TREATMENT OF SLAVES—NUFU KINGS—THEIR DISCONTENT UNDER THE YOKE OF THE FULATAHS—VISIT OF MALLAMS ON BOARD—FURTHER NOTICES OF EGGA.

SEPT. 27—We left Kinami this evening, and are now at anchor in sight of Egga. I am sorry to be under the necessity of recording the death of another of our seamen, John Fuge: he departed this life about 8 o'clock P.M. I saw him a few hours before, when he was able to listen to my prayer. Several on board are still dangerously ill. Captain Bird Allen, though a little better, is not yet, as far as I can judge, out of danger.

Sept. 28—I buried John Fuge early this morning. An old man was present when the grave was dug by our Kroomen; and when I arrived, accompanied by an Interpreter, he expressed his surprise at the liberty taken by our

people in digging a grave, without previously obtaining the Headman's permission, and paying for the place 7000 cowries. I made the Interpreter tell him our object in coming to Black man's country, and that the very person who was to be buried in their sand had left his parents, wife, and child, to come and do them good;—and then wished him to tell me whether they were doing well in making much palaver about a spot where his body might rest. He was now joined by a great number of his country-people, who replied, as with one voice, "No, no; we don't want to make any talk, and do not come for money;" and the Headman sent three persons on board to express his regret to the Captain and people at the loss they had sustained. They were all standing near us while I read the Funeral Service. Nothing appeared to be new to them; and the surplice, being so much like the dress of the Mallams on solemn occasions, did not strike their attention much. They bury their dead without any ceremony whatever, while the Mahomedans offer up prayers.

I am truly thankful to say that several of our invalids appear much better this morning. May God in mercy complete their recovery, and further

us in our undertaking ! We are still *faint, yet pursuing*, and hope shortly to cast anchor at Egga.

Samuel Crowther was sent yesterday to Egga, to purchase mats ; and to acquaint the Chief of Egga, and, if possible, of Barra also, of our arrival, and the intentions of our visit. The testimony of the people here agrees with that so often heard and made, that the rainy season is the healthiest of the two ; and that there is generally much sickness, even among the Natives, at the time that the river begins to fall. Whether this is the case in towns situated more inland, and at a greater distance from the river, I could not sufficiently ascertain.

For the last two or three days I felt now and then severe acute pains in the spleen, which is much enlarged. It disturbs my rest in the night very frequently, and leaves a feverish sensation for some time ; but a few grains of quinine I generally find sufficient to restore me again.

We arrived at Egga at noon. Our only engineer was taken ill. Since the other two were laid up, he had had hard work : it can therefore be no matter of surprise that he should feel the effects of it. It afforded us some consolation to see that the others were getting better, though unfit for hard labour for several days longer.

Captain Trotter kindly provided an opportunity for me to go on shore at Egga, soon after our arrival. Dr. Stanger and myself carried a message to the Chief, called Rogang. He is a Nufi by birth, but under the controul of the king of the Fulatahs. We had to submit, as at other places, to the same tedious ceremonies—of waiting a long time, amidst a crowd of people gazing on us from all directions, and even preventing us, at times, getting a breath of air. We were glad, therefore, when we observed that arrangements were made which indicated that the Chief was approaching. These occupy but a little time; and consist in preparing a place for the King, or Chief, to sit or lie down, as may be most agreeable to him, during the interview. A large mat was spread upon a mud bank, raised above the level of the floor of the house about twelve or fifteen inches. Over the mat was a large leopard skin, on which were two cushions of leather stuffed with cotton; the one used to support his elbows, and the other to rest his legs upon. On the floor of the room another large mat and a bolster were spread, which were occupied by Dr. Stanger and myself: the bolster supported our elbows, while our legs

rested on the mat stretched out toward the king. Such a position cannot be called very polite; but no objection can be made against it on account of the inconvenience to which one is exposed. It is the most convenient way of transacting business in a tropical climate. An hour's walk or exposure to the sun often makes me long for a mat to lie down on, and for the cool shade afforded by a grass roof. We were much more polite than the king; for we kept our shoes and stockings on our feet, while he pulled off his sandals, and during the time we were talking with him was scratching his toes and chewing goranuts. We inquired after his health, and invited him, in the name of Captain Trotter, to come on board the "Albert." He made no reply in the presence of the people; but told us, after we had delivered our message, that it was now time to drink water with him, and wished us to follow him to his private apartments. The king's houses differ in nothing from the rest but in number, and a stranger is seldom admitted to them. All their Courts are held in the open air. We were led through a house into an open space of about twelve feet long and seven feet wide, comfortably shaded, it being surrounded

by houses; and there took our seats on mats spread on the ground, the Chief being on the same level with ourselves. Only three of his people were admitted, whose external appearance was more that of servants than of counsellors; but as they said now and then a word, and were listened to by the Chief, they must be the latter. The good old Chief told us candidly that he was himself very anxious to see Captain Trotter—that he had heard of our coming before, and was very glad to hear that we had not come to make war with the people, but to establish peace—and that he would most willingly co-operate with us in every thing, were he not prevented and hindered by the Fulatahs. But he added, that if he should come on board, the news would instantly reach Rabba; and Sumo Sariki, who is so much afraid of the White people, would instantly say, “Ah! Rogang has joined the White people;” and as soon as they should have returned to the sea, the Fulatahs would cause him to regret his conduct.

We now explained more fully to the Chief what our object was in coming to his country. He expressed himself willing to suppress the slave-trade as far as he was concerned, or as far as his influence extended; but he thought that until

Sumo Sariki himself had decided the question, nothing could be done by himself or any other dependent Chief; and his opinion was, that the Fulatahs would not like to give up the slave-trade, nor could easily be prevailed upon by any other earthly power. "God only can do it," he said; "and may the hand of God be with you! May God bring it to pass!" He hates the king, and the Fulatah People; and would, no doubt, be very glad if their influence and power could receive a check. All my endeavours to prevail on him to let us see the slaves were in vain. The report of our having liberated three had reached his ears, though no post is established in this country; and he was afraid that we should liberate those at Egga also. My assurances, that we would take none, were not believed. "You have taken some," he said: "how shall I know that you will not take more, if you see them?" I trust, however, that a full and correct explanation of the capturing of them satisfied him that we had acted justly, and that no force had been used; and that the agreement had been broken by the Attah's people, and not by us.

There were only a few Fulatahs present at the opening of the interview, and none in the private

yard of the Chief. Those whom we saw did not come to us in that friendly manner in which the Nufi People always do; but stood aloof, having the appearance of spies, or of people whose consciences bore them no testimony to the goodness of their cause. The colour of the Fulatahs is a little darker than that of the Spaniards. We commenced the conversation with the Chief in Haussa; but he did not understand that language, and therefore inquired for a Nufi Interpreter. James Macaulay, a Liberated African from Sierra Leone, acted as such, and acquitted himself very well. As night was approaching, we left the friendly Chief, who shook hands with us most heartily, and made us a present of two country-made lamps; and offered us several jars of beer, which we refused.

Sept. 29—As it was market-day at Egga to-day, and a favourable opportunity for collecting some information and obtaining some knowledge of their commercial transactions, early this morning I left the vessel again for Egga, in company with Dr. Stanger. On our arrival at Egga, we were told that a full explanation of the objects of the Expedition had been given to the Chief, who had expressed his readiness to enter into a treaty

with England, and said that his situation at Egga was such as to qualify him to act independently of Sumo Sariki in such cases. We received the account with suspicion, not only because it was in direct contradiction to all that the Chief had told us the evening before, but because it came from a person who is always prepared to give such information on any subject as he knows will please most. We determined, however, on seeking another interview with the Chief, and therefore proceeded to his palace. On our arrival, the Chief, who had some of his counsellors with him, requested us to wait in the same house in which he received us on the evening before, which we did for several hours. The crowd of people was immense; we could not hear our own words for the noise they made, each wanting to be nearest to us, and be first in selling the few curiosities they had; and though very eager to sell, they never charged too little. I committed a great error in not providing myself with cowries before I entered the river. I well knew that I should be in want of them; but was advised not to purchase any, because there was no room in the vessel. My cabin might have contained 100,000, and without any inconvenience to any

person but myself;—and oh that I had filled it! I would advise Missionaries and other people to provide themselves with plenty of them, when attempting to enter into the interior of Africa. I much wished to purchase some curiosities, which were expensive for Africa, but not for England; but was prevented, because I had no cowries, and could obtain none at the place.

We waited in the room to which we were directed, for several hours, to no purpose, as the Chief did not arrive; and then left to see the various markets and manufactures of the town. Among the latter, the manufacturing of country cloths deserves the first notice: with nothing, of African industry I ever saw, was I more pleased. There are no less than about 200 looms employed in various parts of the town, and sometimes as many as ten in one place. The looms are very simple; and the cloth made is uncommonly neat, never being wider than three inches. Some is quite white; some striped white, blue, and red. They make the pieces about fifty or sixty yards long, which are afterward sewn together, to any length or width which may be required. In this simple manner they provide themselves with all the clothing required. They make tobes of them

which require no less than fifteen or sixteen yards of calico; and smaller cloths for their heads, and to cast around their shoulders. The dye is likewise made by themselves. The blue colour is made with indigo, of which they possess a large quantity: dye-pits are seen everywhere, and perceived from a distance by the bad smell they produce. The red colour is obtained from camwood; but in what manner I am unable to say: there is very little of it to be seen here, which is probably imported from other places. The Natives use it for other purposes than dyeing cloth. It is beaten by women to powder, in large mortars; while the weaving of cloth is always performed by men. There are generally four women standing around a mortar, with heavy wooden pestles in their hands, and keeping time together; so that from a distance you fancy you hear four men threshing corn. The powder thus obtained is mixed with clay, made into balls of the size of a large English apple, and dried in the sun: it is chiefly used by females to ornament their skin. They make large earthen pots of clay, and use them as cooking utensils: they have the appearance of cast iron. No real iron pots can be seen here. Along the coast, iron

pots form a chief article of commerce, at least at some places where I have been. The earthen pots cannot be very strong, as heaps of them, broken, can be seen in almost every corner of the streets. Sometimes the broken pots are used to pave the floors of their houses, and are certainly a great improvement. I observed one single oyster-shell exposed for sale; which leads me to think that they must be uncommonly scarce, and that there is no probability of procuring white lime in these parts of Africa. The market is inferior to that of Gori in many respects, though nearly the same articles were exposed for sale. The only European articles we saw, were, a piece of cotton handkerchief, some beads, and gunpowder carelessly packed in grass bags. There were about twelve or fifteen horses in the market, and a very little rice. I do not suppose that ten bushels of rice could be obtained in the whole town. There is a great abundance of Guinea-corn, of four different kinds, as regards colour and size. It is ground by women between two stones, afterwards boiled, and buttered with Shea butter and eaten. Small portions of it are packed up in leaves, and sold at the market and in the streets. There were

great quantities of yams, calabashes of various sizes, and Indian-corn; some raw silk, and a little dyed red—both said to have come from the Haussa Country. I obtained a specimen of the latter, though I had no cowries. No fire-arms of any kind or description were seen. Their weapons are arrows, spears, and broad-swords, made in this country of iron.

In our rambling through the town, we happened to put our heads under the low roof of a shed about twenty feet long and ten feet wide, full of people. As we seated ourselves under the roof, we soon discovered, on looking at the people, that some of them were slaves. We addressed the vender in the Haussa Language, who readily answered every question, and never attempted to deny that they were slaves. He was not the proprietor of them, but acted merely as agent. The number was, twelve women, and three children, boys, about seven years old. All of them had been taken in war, by the Fulatahs. The price charged for one of the adults was 40,000 cowries, and for each of the children 20,000. The vender told us that there were not many sold at present; that they formerly sold many to Kerri and Gori market, but of late very few;

and that all of them would have to be sent to Rabba, the principal slave-market at present in the interior of Africa. What feelings must have been produced in our hearts, by the sight of fifteen of our fellow-creatures exposed like cattle for sale, can easily be perceived; but the expediency of making them known at the place, and in the presence of the slaves, might perhaps be questioned. Expediency, however, was not the rule which guided me; but from a sense of duty I expressed my feelings to all who were present under the shed. I informed them, that the chief design of our Expedition was to put an end to the trade in human flesh and blood; and expatiated on the sinfulness of the practice, it being against the laws of God and the laws of the most enlightened kingdoms of the world, and productive of innumerable evils among themselves. Conscious of the justness of the cause I was expounding, I could do it with perfect calmness of mind, and free from the apprehension of the displeasure of those against whose interest I was speaking. When I had finished my address, which I carried on in the Haussa Language, employing the Interpreter whenever I was in uncertainty, the slave-vender replied, that he could make no

objection to all I had said—that every word I had said was very true, but still that it was not against the laws of this country and their king—that if the king of Rabba would make a law against the slave-trade, he would be as glad of it as any person, and that the people in general would willingly give it up. To gain over the Fulatahs to the Abolition party is certainly the most desirable thing, as there the axe would be laid to the root of the slave-trade. The slave-vender told us, that neither Rogang nor Ezu-Issa, alias Ederisa, maintained such positions as to qualify them to enter into a treaty with England. He expressed as much as this, that Ezu-Issa could make laws, but they were always subject to the approval of the king of the Fulatahs.

Near the slaves there was a sheep of the largest size I ever saw offered for sale, said to have come from the Haussa Country: the back was covered with wool, and the neck and feet with hair like goats.

When we had finished at the slave-market, we returned again to the king's departments, and were glad at his making his appearance soon after. We wished to hear once more, from his

own lips, whether he really would or could enter into a treaty ; but, as was anticipated, a decided negative was his reply. We wished further to know whether he would send a messenger to Rabba, with a message from the Commissioners to Sumo Sariki ; to which also he expressed his regret that he could not do it, since the king would instantly say that he had joined the White people. From observations like these, it cannot be difficult to arrive at a correct conclusion of Rogang's opinion of the Fulatahs, and of the fate the proposals of the Commissioners are likely to meet with. The White people must be considered by the Fulatahs as their enemies ; and their feelings therefore toward us can by no means be friendly. A proper explanation of our design would no doubt remove much of that suspicion which at present occupies their minds. Rogang believes that Sumo Sariki would enter into a treaty, and would perform its conditions as long as the vessels would be in his dominions ; but at their removal he would recommence his ravages with greater fury. It certainly is very desirable that one vessel should, at least once a year, visit Rabba ; and very much would thereby be done toward abolishing the slave-trade, and

ameliorating the condition of several tribes of Natives who are now oppressed by the Fulatahs.

Having noticed the articles of trade, their provisions, slaves, &c., I now endeavour to make a few more remarks on the town and people. The latter always occupy most of my attention.

Egga is undoubtedly the largest town we have yet seen on the banks of the river: the population may safely be stated at 7000, or 8000. Nufi is the language of the country, though many others are extensively spoken and understood; as Yarnba, Haussa, Fulatah, Kakanda, Eggarra, Bornou, and several others. Katanga, the capital of Yaruba, is said to be fifteen days journey from Egga. People of many of these nations have joined the Fulatahs, some of their own accord; others were forced to it; but many have come to Egga for purposes of trade. The houses at Egga are a little superior to those of Iddah, all of a conical shape: the doors are higher, which is no small improvement. I could walk in and out without knocking my head against the lintel. The walls are all of clay; which is mixed with straw cut short, by which they are rendered more durable. Some are about fifteen inches, others only six inches thick. A few of the houses are painted

with indigo, and quite smooth; and if the colour could be made lighter, it would be as good as our English white-lead paint: it turns quite hard; and no impression can be made on it by the nail of the finger, and remains so for several years. Sometimes two walls are built for the same house, about two feet distant from each other; the outer wall forming a kind of verandah, calculated to keep the inside both dry and cool. These verandahs would be a much greater improvement if they were built at a greater distance from the inner wall, and if there were a few avenues in them to admit light and air. Generally, the houses have but one door: windows have not yet been introduced. The Natives must first see houses of European construction before they will ever be induced to believe or to perceive that theirs are comfortless holes, only fit for rats*.

Egga appears to be entirely surrounded by water; and the swamps behind it extend to a considerable distance. The whole country may

* The town, Port Lokkoh, in the Timneh country, is a city of palaces in comparison with Egga, and a striking proof that the Natives will imitate the improvements which Europeans introduce, and better their own condition.

become perfectly dry in the dry season ; but it is a question whether the healthiness of the town would be advanced by it. The unanimous testimony of the Natives is, that the dry season is very unhealthy, and that fever, small-pox, and dysentery, carry off large numbers, even of those born and brought up at the place.

I spent the whole day on shore, walking from place to place in the heat of the sun ; and the horrible stench, arising at certain places, for reasons which I do not know how to express in language without offending the ear even of the deaf, might be considered enough to give fever to any person ; yet I returned well, feeling no other inconvenience than that of fatigue. If another testimony of the unhealthiness of Egga is required, I mention one who must be considered a judge in the case. When there was a doubt whether I should be able to return at night on board the vessel, on the first evening of our arrival, Dr. McWilliam strongly objected to my landing, being convinced that I should suffer for it.

The answer to the question, whether Egga might be considered a suitable station for European Missionaries, is obvious. It is much more objectionable than Iddah, because much

more unhealthy. Having now advanced upward of 300 miles into the interior, in search of comparatively healthier stations than those along the coast, and being obliged to sum up my investigations in this single sentence, "I have seen none," I feel no small portion of grief and sorrow, especially when I consider that the people, to all appearance, would be ready to receive the Gospel of our salvation with open arms and hearts. They are prepared by those means which God, in His providence, has often sent as the forerunners of the Gospel—trials and troubles. They have suffered oppression and hardships, for many years, from a haughty people; and the deliverance from the chains of slavery, which would attend British intercourse with them, would be the best recommendation for the introduction of the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Religion which we profess. How shall it be accomplished? He knows, who reigneth on high, and who has promised to be with His Church *even unto the end of the world*. He will find means, when all human plans are disappointed; that all the glory may redound unto Him.

The Egga people, not including the strangers from various other kingdoms, differ in nothing

from those below, as regards their religion. The same mixture of Paganism and Mahomedanism is everywhere observed. There are, however, fewer charms, and other marks of superstition, to be seen than in the towns below Iddah.

I was in the chief Mallam's house at Egga, who had several books and separate leaves, all written most beautifully in Arabic; but he was not able to read any, except those which he had written himself. This is not an inference of my own: he confessed to me himself that he could not; and I know that others who may read them with much fluency are not able to understand the meaning of the words. Reading and writing is praying or worshipping, in their opinion—a fault and error of which these professed Mahomedans are not the only persons who are guilty. It appears to me to be of very great importance, to ascertain how far they are acquainted with the doctrines of the Korân, and what feelings they entertain toward Christians; as from such information Missionaries may be directed in their labours among them. To their praise I must state, that I never heard an offensive word spoken by any against Christians, or the Christian Religion; and the same modesty ought, in my

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judgment, to be observed by Christian Missionaries toward them. Disputing ought never to be courted; and, as far as consistent, without compromise, should always be avoided. They ought to be led to find out the superiority of our Holy Religion, before their systems of men are denounced and contradicted. I very much question whether a certain Missionary has acted up to the Saviour's instruction, who called them reprobates, and their prophet a liar and a cheat in the lowest hell, because they did not believe his doctrine after he had preached to them once or twice. A knowledge of Arabic is desirable, but by no means of that importance as is supposed by some. It would be well for every Missionary if he were to learn to read and write it with fluency; as it would enable him to communicate with them in other languages, by the use of Arabic characters.

As I do not anticipate many more opportunities of seeing the Nufi People, their manners and customs, I shall put down a few particulars now. It appears to be a very large nation. Their language is spoken at the Confluence of the Tshadda and Niger, on the left bank of the river all the way to Rabba, and even beyond it. The Nufi nation must comprise more than 100,000 persons. What a

large field for Missionary labours! They are a harmless, teachable, and industrious people here; and such is their character at Sierra Leone. There they are called Tapuas; but for what reason I am at a loss to say. There is one of this nation, Joseph Bartholomew, employed by our Society as schoolmaster, at Sierra Leone. Might not he become a Missionary to his own country-people?

The custom of painting their eyelids black with sulphuret of lead, which is found in the country and beaten to a fine powder before it is applied, prevails much here. It illustrates several passages of Scripture. Compare Jeremiah iv. 30. and 2 Kings ix. 30. in the original. The word "eye" being rendered "face" in the translation, the beauty and applicability is lost in a great measure. Their eyes are naturally black enough; but the still darker narrow brim gives them really a mild and softened appearance. Another ornament is used by them for the nails of their fingers, which are dyed red, by a small leaf called *lalleh* in the Haussa and Nufi Languages, and *henna* in the Arabic.

Sept. 30—I remained on board all day, and employed my time in writing some of the above particulars. I felt so much fatigued last night,

that I deemed it more prudent to remain quiet, than expose myself again. I trust I am correct in saying that some of our patients are getting better. Captain Bird Allen is still very ill; but his mind is firmly fixed on those things which are above.

Oct. 1—I have not been able to obtain much information to-day, as I did not leave the vessel. A few particulars, however, relative to domestic slavery may be noticed in my journal. It does not appear that the number of domestic slaves is as great as has been stated, bearing a proportion of three to one freeman. As there is little of the soil under cultivation, proper employment could not be found for many. The Egga people seldom make or purchase slaves from their own, that is, the Nufi nation; but always prefer purchasing such whose native countries are far away, because they are considered less liable to effect their escape. Their description of the condition of domestic slaves is so favourable, that, at first, I doubted its correctness; and, to ascertain the truth, I inquired of several persons, whose accounts always agreed in the main points. The slave is allowed half of his time, to work for himself; and the other half he must spend in his master's service, for which he receives food and clothing,

both of which are very cheap. The clothing consists of a narrow piece of cloth around the loins; and the food is chiefly such as the owners cultivate by the labour of their slaves. The slave is allowed to sell the produce of his farm, after his master has disposed of his own; and if he is engaged in trading, and employed in canoes visiting the various market-places, he may have his own articles of commerce, and dispose of them to his own advantage. He is permitted to purchase as many wives as his means will allow; and his offspring are free. This circumstance accounts, in some measure, for the continuance of the internal slave-trade. If the slave can produce money enough, it not unfrequently happens that he purchases his own liberty; after which, he is allowed to remain unmolested at the place where he has before been a slave; or, if he chooses, he may return to his own country. The former is done more frequently than the latter. A domestic slave is only allowed to be sold if guilty of a crime; and none taken for the debts of their masters can be sold out of the country, without causing much trouble to those who violate this law. The term "domestic slaves" requires an explanation here. It is obvious, that when they purchase slaves,

they are at liberty to sell them again, or to employ them for their own work, as they find most convenient for themselves, and most to their own interest; and that, at the time the bargain is made, they never pledge themselves in any way, whether they are intended for domestic use or for a foreign market. When, therefore, they speak of domestic slaves, and of the limits under which they are with regard to the infliction of punishment or the re-selling of them, they can only speak of such slaves as have been long at the place, and entered into the relations of life through marriages, &c., and have thus become members of the community from which they cannot be separated so easily.

Our vessel is now filled with fire-wood; and we might leave for Rabba any moment we liked, if all our engineers were not still ill. It may be that all of them are getting better; but there is no prospect of their becoming able to undertake so laborious a work for some days to come. I was glad to observe to-day that more of the Natives came near us and our vessel than before: they are gaining confidence in us. A canoe came early this morning with fire-wood; and, unfortunately, coming under the paddle-wheel, was broken,

and the wood lost, but no lives. One of the men laid hold on the steps, and the other swam to another canoe.—Our patients seem no worse to-day.

Oct. 2—I was occupied this morning by making some inquiries about the Nufi kings; there being two at present bearing that name, though possessed of no power: but whether I succeeded in finding out the origin of their separate existence, and of the influence of the Fulatahs over them, will be seen hereafter. To become clear about this question is, at the present moment, a matter of great importance, in various respects. All matters of importance are referred to the Court of Rabba; and no Chief, whatever his hereditary right may be, ventures to enter into any treaty with England; while, on the other hand, they make no secret of the real feelings of their hearts towards Sumo Sariki, the king of the Fulatahs, whom they look at as an usurper, and from whom they are anxious to become independent again.

I was informed this morning by one of our Interpreters, that he learned, from one of his countrymen, that Mamajia, Ezu-Issa, and the Chief of Egga, together with the youngest brother of Sumo Sariki, had entered into a conspiracy

against Sumo Sariki ; and that it was their intention, next month, to make an attack upon Rabba with a considerable force. The Yaruba people also informed Samuel Crowther of similar attempts being in contemplation, for the attainment of their former independence from the yoke of the Fulatahs. Little as I am inclined to favour revolutions, I must say that I wish them good success ; for the Fulatahs have been a great plague and scourge to these countries for many years. They obtained power over the Nufi country in the following manner, according to information I received here. About twenty-three years ago, Nasa, king of the Nufi country, died ; when, as is no rare case, a contest took place respecting the proper person who should be his successor. His son, Mamajia, laid claim to the throne ; and his nephew, called Jemata, son of his eldest sister, advanced the same claim. Mamajia called upon the Fulatahs to assist him. Jemata was killed ; but Issa, his son, carried on the war ; and after some time the country was divided between the two ; while the Fulatahs made both tributary to them, and subject to their king.

Several intelligent men came on board this evening, who were called Mallams ; but they

themselves said that they could lay no claim to such titles, being unable either to read or write. One of them spoke the Haussa Language wonderfully well, though a Nufi by birth. I wish I could be in his company for a few weeks, and correct my Haussa translations. I long for such an opportunity the more, as it would afford me the best opportunity of speaking to them on the principles and doctrines of our Holy Religion. I introduced myself to them as a Mallam of the Christian Religion, and endeavoured to find out how far they were acquainted with the doctrines of the Korân. Several questions which I put to them, and the answers I received, convinced me that they knew nothing about them. I told them for what purpose we had come to this country, and that our object was to establish peace and goodwill with all men; and wished them to tell me whether they thought the people would be willing to receive teachers and listen to them. The Haussa speaker replied, "This must be of God; for when we heard before that White people were coming with large canoes, we were afraid of war; but since we see that you have come for peace, we rejoice. This must be of God; for the Mallam of Sokoto has sent letters, entreating all Fulatahs to

give up fighting, and sit down quietly. Now, the White people, too, are saying the same: this must be of God. May God bless you! may God go with you! may God give you long life!" One of these men was anxious to accompany us to Rabba, whither I hope we may be able to proceed. A few days in his company, with more of such speakers, would soon enable me to speak the Hausa well.

All our engineers are ill; Captain Bird Allen is by no means out of danger; and there are not three of the ship's company, the Blacks excepted, able to do duty. The river begins to fall, and the season will become much more unhealthy than even it now is. Considering all things, I cannot but think that it would be prudent to return to the sea;—this seems to be the course pointed out to us by Providence. It is rather mortifying to us, our wishes and desires being disappointed; but still there is some satisfaction in knowing that we have done what we could. We have shunned no difficulty; but, on the contrary, have willingly endured all things, and, were it practicable, would most readily go on further. Another of our seamen, George Syme, died this evening, of fever.

I will now give a few more detached pieces of

information as I have obtained them; and if any thing should now escape my memory respecting any point, I must communicate it when it shall occur to me. I inquired whether there was much ivory sold at Egga; and was told, very little. Human sacrifices are held in great abhorrence here: the people are aware of their existence in other countries, but deny that their own nation has ever practised such atrocities. If this assertion be correct, it will deprive Mahomedanism of the credit of having abolished them. Egga pays an annual tribute to Sumo Sariki of 400,000 cowries; and a still larger sum is annually exacted from them under various pretences, chiefly as fines for real or alleged offences. They only paid 50,000 cowries to their own king, before the Fulatahs obtained power over them. It is said that Sumo Sariki allowed his warriors to keep half the number of slaves captured in war, or to dispose of them to their own advantage, which in no small degree accounts for the zeal they manifest in their iniquitous pursuits.

Oct. 3—I buried George Syme this morning, on the left bank of the river. Had Service on board, and administered the Sacrament to a small but devout congregation. The heat was

unusually oppressive; the thermometer 88° in my cabin, and 90° on deck. I never remember having felt the heat so much before in my life: I shall ever think of this day, as the hot Sunday. A strong tornado in the evening produced a wonderful change in the atmosphere, and the thermometer fell to 83°. We have been favoured with tornadoes, having one almost every evening since lying at anchor at this place; and if it were not for them, I suppose it would not be possible to live in these countries at all.

Captain B. Allen more comfortable to-day than yesterday: our other patients do not appear worse. Little as I can do for them, I humbly trust that God has blessed the word of consolation and direction now and then spoken. The sickly state in which we now are tends to impress the hearts of several, and cause them to ask this most important of all questions, *What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?* and the Gospel of the grace of God proves now, as it ever has, *the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth.*

CHAP. VI.

RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION TO THE SEA — MESSAGE TO THE KING OF RABBA — NOTICES OF THE KING OF RABBA AND OTHERS — NOTICES RESPECTING THE SICK ON BOARD — DESCRIPTION OF THE BANK OPPOSITE EGGA — VISIT TO BUDDU, AND NOTICES OF IT — ARRIVAL AT MUYE — ARRIVAL AT THE CONFLUENCE — VISIT TO ATSHARA — CONVERSATIONS — DEFENCE OF IDOLATRY, AND DESIRE FOR INSTRUCTION — DEPARTURE FROM THE CONFLUENCE, AND ARRIVAL AT IDDAH — ARRIVAL AT IBO — VISIT TO OBI — FURTHER NOTICES OF THE IBO PEOPLE — DEATHS ON BOARD THE VESSELS — ARRIVAL AT THE MOUTH OF THE NUN — ARRIVAL AT FERNANDO PO.

OCT. 4—*Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further,* was the message of this morning. ‘Draw up the anchor, and return to the sea as fast as possible.’— I always apprehended this. My feelings naturally opposed it continually, and the thought of it grieved my heart; but now I feel reconciled to it, seeing that it is the only resource left to us. Captain Trotter was taken ill last evening; and the symptoms of fever were too plain this morning to favour the hope that it was merely a momentary indisposition. Only one European officer was able to perform duty on board. The

fever in the others was not subdued; and not one will be able to do duty for some time, even should their lives be spared, which, at present, appears very doubtful.

It might now be expected that I should express my opinion on the whole undertaking;—but I cannot: I dare not allow the feeling of the moment, and that one of distress, to predominate over my judgment. I will give it a calm and prayerful consideration: I will wait for opportunities of comparing my own thoughts with those of others, and so profit by the suggestions of those to whose superiority of judgment I would pay all due deference; when I will sum up the results of this undertaking, and state the prospects open for future Missionary enterprise. May God direct us aright! Oh! may He enlighten our darkness, and show us the way we know not!

There being no prospect of our reaching Rabba this season, a message was sent to the king, informing him that the Messengers of the Queen of England were prevented from seeing him at present, partly on account of illness, and partly on account of the fall of the river; but that they expected to return next season, and would then deliver their message from the Queen of

England;—that the principal thing for which they had come, was to prevent the exportation of slaves, and to establish a friendly and commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the countries in the vicinity of the River Niger. A drawing was sent to him of the vessels composing the Expedition, with a rich velvet robe, and a handsomely bound Arabic Bible. He was also informed that the English had formed a Settlement at Addu Kuddu; and was requested not to allow his warriors to come near that settlement.

The present king of Rabba is the son of Mallam Dendo. The name of the Chief Mallam of Rabba is Musa; commonly speaking, called Mamusa, abridged for Mallam Musa. Andi Bossu is the head of the war department. Mamadu is another very influential person at Rabba. He is said to be the king's brother, and a great favourite, doing whatever he pleases, and always having the king's approbation. Aliluh is king of Sokotu, in place of his father Bello. Atibah is king of Yaruba; and Sita, king of Illoring or Illorin—generally marked Allorie on the maps. Sita's right is disputed by the Yaruba people; and properly speaking, he can only be called King of the Fulatah party.

According to information received to-day, there is a river called Gindi, flowing from Sokotu, and emptying itself into the Niger, at a town called Gomba, on the left bank of the river. Our informant, a Yaruba man, told us that the "Albert" might, in the rainy season, advance within three days' journey of Sokotu, and that canoes can always pass from Youri to Sokotu in fifteen days, even when the river is at its lowest. The Niger bears at this place the name of Egga; and higher up, Edu—a Nufi word signifying "Great Water." Canoes can pass from Rabba to Youri at any season of the year.

We made but little progress to-day, in our return to the sea, as there was some business going on at Egga; and the engineers being still ill, steam could not be got up. Captain Trotter, I am thankful to say, appeared better this afternoon; but the other invalids, I am sorry to add, were apparently no better. May their valuable lives be preserved, for the good of the cause in which they are so zealously labouring!

Oct. 5—All of us were disturbed last night by the illness of several of our companions; but especially by one, who, in a state of delirium, continued making a great noise up to one o'clock

this morning. In the gun-room, we surrounded the dying-bed of Lieutenant Stenhouse, expecting every moment to see him yield up his spirit unto *God who gave it*. He was partially delirious; but there was a great contrast in his conduct to that of the other. The former cried, "We are all damned—we are all lost—God Almighty has said it!" while the Lieutenant was as meek and gentle as a lamb, and his expressions betrayed grief on account of sin, and at times indicated some enjoyment of the consolations of the Gospel. He said, "God has been merciful to me"—"Christ died for me"—"Thy kingdom come!" Seizing my hand, he said, "God bless you! God be with you! I thank you."

Captain B. Allen seemed better in health this morning. He is always in an excellent frame of mind: all the Christian graces shine in him. He says, and, with the Apostle, feels what he says to be true—*For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain*: and if there be a prevailing desire in his mind, it certainly is, *rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord*. O enviable state of mind! May my soul be seeking more and more to be in such a state!

Captain Trotter was worse this morning; but

his mind and heart were fixed upon better things. Feeling his danger, and considering that it might please God to call him hence, he expressed to me a wish—which, on account of the uncertainty of my own life, I shall here notice, that it may be complied with in case of any accident to myself—that my Journal, which he thinks contains much valuable information, may be transmitted to the Secretary of State, through the Parent Committee. I have no such opinion of my Journal: all my thoughts and remarks are put down in a confused manner, and resemble the state of our vessels since the commencement of sickness; but still I must express my desire, should there be any thing in my Journal worthy the notice of the Secretary of State, that Captain Trotter's request should be complied with. If health and time be given me by the Author and Giver of every good gift, it is my intention to copy out whatever may be deemed useful, and deliver it to Captain Trotter myself; but at present I cannot undertake it. I feel I cannot apply myself to work so much here as in Europe, or even in Sierra Leone. Our strength is but weakness.

The river is falling rapidly; sand-banks and

mud-banks begin to make their appearance in every direction : it must have fallen several feet* since we went up only eight or nine days ago. The season will become still more unhealthy. However, we are in the hands of a gracious God, who will take care of us.

Mr. Brown, who was sent to Egga last evening, to request Rogang, the Chief, to forward the message and presents to the king of the Fulatahs, returned this evening. Rogang was much pleased with the presents sent to him, and expressed his pleasure and satisfaction at the message sent to Sumo Sariki. Rogang thought this a wise arrangement of the Commander, and but for which he was afraid that Sumo Sariki would have suspected him of having prejudiced the Captain's mind against him. He wished that the Captain might soon recover, and use speed in returning, as the river would be high enough to ascend again with our vessels seven months hence. According to Rogang's account, there are rocks in the Niger, between Rabba and Bussa, over which the water falls. Canoes cannot pass the rocks either when the river is in its highest or lowest state;

* Dr. Stanger, by actual measurement, found that it had only fallen about fourteen inches.

consequently the people always travel by land at these seasons, and get their goods carried from one place to another. Rogang was requested to send a man down with us, for some distance, to show us the different villages, and tell us their names; but the people were all afraid of being taken to sea; and as there were none of his servants or slaves acquainted with the places, he regretted that he could not oblige us in this instance. Rogang says that it is impossible at any time of the year for canoes to pass from Rabba to Youri; which contradicts a statement of yesterday. The journey is generally made by land in six days.

The Egga inhabitants get their cotton from the opposite shore, where a considerable quantity is planted. Rogang would be glad were the English to establish themselves there; but he thinks that the king of Rabba ought first to be consulted, who, as Rogang supposes, would be willing to let them occupy any quantity of land they might wish; though he does not apprehend that the king would raise any objection, even should his sanction not have been previously obtained.

Having had no opportunity of seeing much of the left bank of the river opposite Egga, I have

omitted hitherto saying any thing about it;— a few remarks, therefore, may now be made. Its external appearance conveys the impression that it is much healthier than the low and marshy bank of Egga. It is raised and hilly, and appears better calculated for agricultural pursuits, cotton being grown there. Yet a settlement ought to be at a considerable distance from the river, behind the first range of hills, so as to be sheltered from the rising of the miasma from the banks of the river, at the subsidence of the waters. I am not sure that I am correct in my supposition that fresh-water situations are very unhealthy in Africa, but such has always been my impression.

This evening, James Macaulay, our Nufi Interpreter, brought his sister with him to the “Albert,” from Egga. They had not seen or heard of each other from the time he was a slave to this day, about twenty years since. They were so much alike in appearance, that I believe, had I met her in the streets, I should have known her as his sister. Both of them wished me to entreat Captain Trotter to interest himself on her behalf; since the Fulatahs have taken two of her children in their wars, and carried them away to Sokoto. But as Captain Trotter was too ill to be

spoken to, I could only comfort her by telling her, that on his return to Egga, next season, she might come; and that I had no doubt that something would be done for her, if it were possible.

We were lying at anchor all day off Eddoji, a few miles below Kinami, awaiting Mr. Brown's return from Egga. The heat was great, and caused us to long for a refreshing tornado, which came on in the evening, and greatly cooled the air. Captain Trotter suffered much to-day. Mr. Stenhouse and Captain B. Allen were both a little better. Some Natives came on board, with a few bunches of plantains, which were no small treat to us. Fruits are extremely scarce.

Oct. 6—Much rain till late at night. It produced a wonderful change in the atmosphere. The thermometer was 78° in my cabin, early this morning: the air is now delightfully sweet and cool. Steam is being got up. One of our engineers being a little better, he will make a trial; and Dr. Stanger will assist him in the engine-room. Our patients were no worse this morning; and we hope that, with the blessing of God, the change in the weather will prove beneficial to them. We left our anchorage off Eddoji about 9 A.M., and proceeded most delightfully for about

an hour and a half; when we got into shallow water, and were obliged to cast anchor until we sounded and found a deeper channel. We cast anchor for the night, near Buddu, on the right, and Riggido, on the left bank of the river.

Oct. 7 — After breakfast, Dr. McWilliam and I went on shore at Buddu, the chief town of Kakanda, or of the district bearing that name. There is no separate town of the name of Kakanda; and the same nation which is called Kakanda by the Nufi People is called Shabi by the Eggara People. The Kakanda country contains six towns, besides Buddu; and for the last four years has been subject to the Attah of Iddah, who receives an annual tribute of one horse. The people, evidently, could not mean to say that the Attah had only obtained the sovereignty of the place for the last four years; but only referred to the present Attah's ascending the throne: for when they were asked how long they had been in the habit of paying this tribute to the Attah, they replied, "From the beginning of the world." The Fulatah army was in this town only three months ago; but as it was agreed to pay them an annual tribute of 100,000 cowries, of which Riggido pays a proportionate sum, they killed nobody, and took no slaves.

According to the statement we heard to-day, every Fulatah is armed with a gun. They have plenty of swords, spears, and arrows, and a great number of horses. In case of non-payment of the tribute, the Fulatahs are said to pay themselves, by capturing, as slaves, whoever happens to come into their hands; not allowing the towns or the State to enter into any agreement with them as to the number or the individuals which should be taken. In this manner the Fulatahs are sure of making great profit, since they always carry away some persons, for whose redemption they can exact a large sum; and therefore the slave-trade must continue so long as they carry on their ravages, because the friends and relations of the captured will purchase them back from the Fulatahs, or from those into whose hands they may have fallen. Any case of this nature well deserves the special attention of such African kings in the interior, and of English cruisers, as have entered into treaty; as such a re-purchase of slaves would, in reality, be a liberation from slavery.

The Attah has faithfully published the Abolition Law at Buddu; and the inhabitants, who surrounded us in great numbers, candidly admitted that Buddu had ever been a great slave-market;

but that from the time they had heard that the Attah had abolished the slave-trade they had relinquished it entirely. They possess domestic slaves; but are not allowed to sell any of them, or, in future, to purchase others for their own work.—I am much afraid that this last condition of the law had not, before, been fully understood by them. The Buddu People do not grow cotton; but purchase all they want from the opposite bank, which is also subject to the Fulatahs to a considerable extent inland. We inquired of the inhabitants whether they had heard of our having captured and liberated three slaves; and learned that some had heard of it, and others had not. We were anxious to know what they thought of our conduct, and questioned them in various ways. The first reply was, that we were stronger than they, and therefore could do what we liked. This gave us the looked-for opportunity of explaining to them the circumstances under which the slaves had been liberated; and that, as far as the Expedition had been concerned, it had not been an act of force, but of strict justice. As they paid great attention to what we said, and appeared anxious to hear more, I requested them to be quiet while I told them some very important

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things. Generally, after having been seriously entreated to be silent, you must not expect even to hear your own voice for a few minutes; for each of them will cry out as loudly as he can, "Keep silence! keep silence!" When silence was obtained, I explained to the people why the White people did not like slavery; and why they exposed themselves to many trials, troubles, and privations, for the purpose of making the Black people free;—that it was in obedience to God's Word, which taught them to love God above all things, and their neighbour as themselves. I then enlarged on the miseries which the slave-trade produced in various ways, &c.;—all of which they admitted to be very true; and said, that, as far as they were concerned, it was no hard thing to give it up; but that the Fulatahs were the persons who ought first to be induced to relinquish it. They denied that human sacrifices had ever been offered, either by them or by their ancestors, long before Mahomedanism had been introduced. This I am inclined to believe to be quite correct. They were glad to hear that an English Settlement had been commenced at the Confluence: and said, that they would go and see how White people built houses and made farms; and

they would settle near them, to be protected against the Fulatahs. They confirmed the statement so often heard and noticed, that the dry season is generally very unhealthy to the Natives; and that the small-pox, dysentery, and fever, carry off great numbers, at every return of the season. Dr. McWilliam vaccinated several; and taught one of them how to perform the operation, provided him with lancets and *pus*, and directed him how to make use of the *pus*, which those who had been vaccinated to-day would produce eight days hence. They made no objection to being vaccinated: on the contrary, they most readily submitted to it, being confident that the White people would do them no harm. Dr. McWilliam instantly gained their confidence, and was consulted by one of the men about different complaints.

Our Interpreter, James Macaulay, had been a slave for some time at this town, and showed me the person who sold him to Rabba: she was a woman of respectable appearance. While we were standing at the landing-place, waiting till the boat was ready, the Interpreter brought her to me; saying, "Master, this is the woman who sold me. She wishes me to go home with her, to eat and

drink; but I told her I had no time." While I was speaking to her about the slave-trade, she admitted that she had sold Macaulay; but at that time did not know it was wrong; and that her husband had more to do in it than herself. She asked me whether Macaulay could not wait a few hours longer, as she wished to make him a present of some fowls; and was evidently grieved that she had no opportunity of doing something for him. Scenes like these are always very interesting to me. I cannot but believe that it is ordered by Divine Providence, in order to lay it most strikingly before my mind, that persons of this description should be sent to inform their own country-people of the miseries of slavery on the one hand, and the kindness of England in liberating them on the other. And whenever I expressed a hope that Teachers of their own country would be sent to them, they received the intelligence with much gladness.

We left our anchorage about 12 at noon. We were partly drifted down the river till 6 o'clock P. M.; when we cast anchor for the night, near a village called Muye, about twenty miles above the Confluence. The river is falling fast: navigation becomes tedious and dangerous; and

the greatest care is necessary, to prevent our running aground. In such a case we should be badly off, as no one on board would be able to stand the fatigue of getting us off again. The only remaining officer* in health has been complaining for the last two or three days: the symptoms are such as indicate an approach of fever. Captain B. Allen appears to me not likely to live twenty-four hours; and Captain Trotter gave me some directions to-day, in case of his own departure. One of the officers is, also, apparently dying: many are still suffering; and others, though free of fever, are in such a state of debility, that they will not be able to do duty for a considerable time. To return to the sea for healthier regions is the only alternative left to us. May the Lord be our guide!—My feelings are indescribable. I am well in body; but extremely nervous at times, owing to much excitement and anxiety of mind.

Oct. 8 — We were all much disturbed last night. Mr. W., who has been in a state of delirium for several days, jumped into the river, through the port-hole, about midnight.

* Mr. Willie, Mate.

Thomas Guy*, a Black man, had the presenee of mind to jump overboard from the quarter-deck, laid hold of him, and saved him: the current was running about four miles an hour. The boat was lowered, and both were brought back unhurt. This was a merciful interposition of Providence. Another of our poor sufferers gave us reason to apprehend that he would follow the example of Mr. W.: he was therefore secured.

Captain B. Allen rallied a little this morning; and Captain Trotter was much better. One of our engineers, the person who attempted to jump overboard last night, effected his purpose to-day at noon. At a moment when our attention was occupied with the shallowness of the river, he rose from his bed, on the quarter-deck, and got overboard—how and where is not known, as he was not observed by any person before he was actually in the water. He kept up for a short time; but sunk before the boat could reach him, and was not afterward seen. I again felt the nervousness which I have before mentioned, and was unable, for some hours after the accident

* Thomas Osmond, a Krooman, as well as Guy, who is a native of Gambia, jumped overboard on this occasion. The Humane Society has sent out a silver medal to each.

had happened, to compose myself sufficiently to be able to read or write. It was most distressing to witness the poor man's struggles for life, and yet sink and perish. No other impression is intended to be conveyed, than that he was in a state of delirium, not conscious of what he was doing. I long for better days, and for a change in our condition. I have endured personal sufferings, family afflictions sore and grievous, and witnessed and shared in the trials of others, during my residence of about eight years in Sierra Leone; but nothing that I have hitherto seen or felt can be compared with our present condition. Pain of body, distress of mind, weakness, sorrow, sobbing and crying, surround us on all sides. The healthy, if so they may be called, are more like walking shadows than men of enterprise. Truly Africa is an unhealthy country! When will her redemption draw nigh! All human skill is baffled—all human means fall short. Forgive us, O God, if on them we have depended, and been forgetful of Thee; and let the light of Thy countenance again shine upon us, that we may be healed!

We anchored about six miles above the Confluence, as night was approaching.

Thomas Guy was offered a reward for risking his life to save that of his fellow-creatures ; but he nobly refused it, saying, that he had done only what was his duty, and was not entitled to reward. This answer deserves notice in my Journal, particularly as it came from a Black man, and betrays so different a feeling from that usually manifested by his countrymen, under similar circumstances.

Oct. 9 — About 9 o'clock A.M. we arrived at the Confluence ; and anchored near the schooner "Amelia," opposite the Model Farm. The two Europeans, and Mr. Carr, a West Indian, who had been left here, we found so seriously indisposed, suffering from fever, that our medical attendant considered it necessary to order them on board the "Albert," with a view to their recovery at sea, or in some healthier region. Under these circumstances, I deemed it my duty to agree to the arrangement, and even to encourage Thomas King, our Native Schoolmaster, to remain at the place, though my mind was still undecided with regard to its eligibility as a Missionary Station. He will have enough to do, having charge of the schooner, and about twelve men on board of her ; and will be the only person able to administer

religious instruction to either the crew or the people at the Model Farm. I was glad to see his willingness to do whatever might be in his power, for the furtherance of our objects. During our absence, he had made several excursions to some of the villages in the neighbourhood, and found the inhabitants always friendly, and favourably disposed toward our objects and people. Three different languages are spoken by those who visit our Settlement; namely, the Nufi, Kakanda, and Bunu; and besides these, the people on the left bank of the river, below the Confluence of the Tshadda and Niger, speak chiefly the Eggarra Language.

In the course of the day, nine months' provisions will be landed for the people at the Model Farm and in the schooner; it being fully expected that, at or before that time, another vessel will be up again. But it is necessary to use every precaution, as regards provisions for the people.

Here I am led to offer a few remarks, which are of general application. From the mouth of the river, as far as we have come, provisions are very scarce. Even if we were to put aside English notions of the things requisite to make one comfortable, and be content with the mere

necessaries of life, I cannot see how even these could be obtained, independent of civilised countries. A district of ten square miles does not contain sufficient provisions in meat to maintain our three ships' company for even one month. There are at present twenty men employed at the Model Farm, and all of them are Black Men; but the whole neighbourhood is insufficient to supply provisions for their maintenance. Europeans would have to obtain every thing from Europe; and a regular intercourse between Europe and these parts of the globe would have to be established, before Europeans could, with safety, undertake a settlement in these regions. The mode of living between Europeans and Natives is very different. The Natives live on yams, onions, dried fish, snails, corn, beer made of Guinea-corn, and but seldom on animal food. But why should not Missionaries live so too? I know what are the opinions of many good people in Europe on this subject. Many will consider the Missionary *carnally minded* who mentions such things as difficulties and hindrances in his way, and that he, in the prosecution of his *work of faith and labour of love*, ought to endure all things, and to bear all things. All I would say, in reply to those friends,

is this, that no one can feel more distressed that such things should prove real difficulties in the way of the spread of the Gospel than the Missionary himself; and gladly would I paint my skin black, if by that means I should be able to live on Black Man's food, and to expose myself to the rays of his burning sun, his heavy rain, and to his marshy habitations, with as little risk of life as he himself. But personal experience and observation have convinced me, that it is impossible for Europeans to live as Black people do. Their strength would soon be gone; their posts be forsaken; nothing be gained, but every thing lost. In fact, I am sure that it would be just as easy to make fishes live in air, and birds in water, as for White people, in general, to live in Black Man's style. I consider the above remarks called for, though not necessarily belonging to a Journal; as a knowledge of all these things is necessary, and deserves a proper consideration, by every Missionary Society, before new Stations are determined upon.

I can devote but a few more moments to my Journal this evening. My time has been much occupied through the day with our poor sufferers; and I only regret that I can do so little for

them. I witnessed an affecting scene. Captain B. Allen and Captain Trotter are both very ill: the former can only be restored to health by miraculous interposition. They took leave of each other this afternoon. Captain Allen was not quite collected; his mind was wandering more or less all day. The innocent expressions which he used, in that state, betrayed the same spirit which animated his noble mind when in health—a tender concern for others, resignation to the will of God, and a sweet assurance of his acceptance with Him. He can truly say, with the Apostle, *For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain*. Dr. McWilliam, besides the care of twenty-six patients, has to attend to various other things. Dr. Stanger has, by day, acted as engineer, since we left Egga; and assisted Dr. McWilliam, in his medical duties, at night. The engineer, though recovering, cannot yet bear much fatigue.

Oct. 10: Lord's Day — All hands at work, in order to be able to leave as early as possible. Provisions were landed; and the gentlemen found ill here were brought on board, where they will have the advantage of medical attendance, and the fair prospect of reaching, ere long, a healthier climate.

Being anxious to go to Atshara, a small village

about two miles distant from the Model Farm—at which, according to Thomas King's information, several slaves had been exposed for sale, a few days ago—an opportunity was therefore afforded me for doing so. I thought, that could I do nothing for them but persuade their owners to take the chains from off their feet and treat them humanely, it would be something done; and my journey for such a purpose could not be considered a profanation of the Sabbath. On our arrival, we were told that they had two slaves last week—a young man about sixteen years of age, and a child only eighteen months old. The child they instantly showed me; but I was told that the young man had since been ransomed by his country-people, having previously been taken as security for the payment of a debt of 30,000 cowries. Whether the whole truth was told me or not, I cannot say. I learned that the law relative to the Abolition of Slavery had been duly published by the Attah; and that all the inhabitants of the village approved of it, as a good law. They confirmed what has so often been stated—that the slave-trade would not cease until the Fulatahs were gained over to the Slave-Trade Abolition party.

I had a long conversation with the people on the difference between our Religion and their own. In reply to my inquiries, they denied ever having sacrificed human beings. As I could hardly credit them, I addressed a few words to them on the sinfulness of such a practice. At this they were startled; and the Headman told me, that if I were so to speak to the Attah, he would be very angry with me, as he was in the habit of sacrificing a slave every year; and that at the death of the Attah, twenty free persons were sacrificed. The number here stated is larger than we were told at Iddah: which statement is correct, I am unable to say. Astonishment was perceptible on every countenance, when they were informed that the Attah had been told that the practice was sinful, and that he had agreed to abandon it. These people are Pagans: no mixture of Mahomedanism is observable in their customs. They showed me their gods. Under a small shade, erected before almost every house, were broken pots, pieces of yams, feathers of fowls, horns of animals, broken bows and arrows, knives and spears. Such were their gods!—While it is easy to attack idols, or to expose them to ridicule, it is difficult to eradicate out of the heart of man the

superstitious belief placed in them. The old argument was again brought forward—that this fashion of worship was good for Black Men, though it might not suit White people; that the same God who had given us The Book had given to them their country-fashion. I endeavoured to convince them of the sinfulness of idolatry; and directed them to the *only true and living God*, who had made Himself known unto us by Jesus Christ. An old man then rose to defend their customs, declaring that they would never leave them—that as they found things when they entered this world, so would they retain them and continue in them—that whatever White Man might talk, they were convinced that their gods were very good to them. “Suppose,” said he, “a serpent should bite me; I have only to put my leg under this god”—the shade—“and I cannot die. Suppose sickness should come upon me; I go to my god, and soon get better. From death alone he cannot deliver me: I must die when my time shall come. But White Men’s Book cannot save them from death: they, too, must all die.” On this last expression he laid peculiar stress; and many of the by-standers burst out into laughter, considering it peculiarly convincing and conclusive.

I took occasion from this, to put before them, in as simple language as I thought my Nufi Interpreter capable of translating, the cause of death, and the Christian's hope and consolation in death; and then wished the old man to tell me whether he or the Christian would be the happy man; representing the one as an obedient, the other as a disobedient child, before the Judgment-seat of the Almighty. The old man said, that, as far as he was concerned, he would remain in his old habits, till he should die; but the Headman of the town made a long and excellent reply. It was to this effect, as well as I can recollect:—"Before time, we were told to sell slaves, because White people wanted them; and we sold plenty. This time, they come and tell us, 'You no must sell slaves again,' and we no sell slaves again: and suppose you come and teach us your Book, we cannot refuse to learn. "See"—pointing to Thomas King—"this man is a Black Man; and before he went to White Man's country he did the same as we do; but now he knows better. You must not say that we are not willing to learn. Any thing which White Man will teach us to do, we can do. I will give my own two sons to Thomas King; and he must teach them the Book, and any

thing he likes; and that is better than to sit down and know nothing. Last week this man (Thomas King) came: his word and the White Man's word are all one [agree]; and nobody shall say that Black people are not willing to learn from White people, or from Black people who can teach them." On my way back to the vessel I had time to consider this reply, and it proved a great consolation to my mind.

I felt very much at leaving Thomas King, not knowing whether I should ever see him again in this life. My mind was wounded to such a degree, that I could scarcely refrain from tears; while the following and many other anxious thoughts tended to disturb me still more.—Will he be faithful to his God and Saviour? Will he continue to care for his own soul? Will he labour for the good of others? The Headman's speech, however, occurring to my mind, comforted me. He said, that Thomas King had learned better things; that though his skin was black, his mind and heart were different from those of his benighted country-people; and that he had become so through the influence of the Gospel. I cannot entertain the fear and doubt as to whether he will be faithful; for the Black Man told me

that he had already made attempts to teach his country-people. He knows whose grace is sufficient, and where to seek for help. Oh, may he be kept from the evil that is in the world, and be made an instrument of much good to poor and perishing sinners! I am more and more convinced, that the only means available to us for the diffusion of the knowledge of the Gospel in Africa, is the sending forth her own sons into her several districts and countries. It may be that the Lord will show us, by a few instances of this kind, that such is His will and pleasure; and that difficulties, which now appear to us insurmountable, He, in a short time, will altogether remove:—for this I daily pray.

I feel the great responsibility of my present situation. It seems to be my task, at present, to look at things as they occur, and to draw inferences from them, which may assist in the arrangement of future measures. The former I will do as long as I can: I will record as much as I am able: the inferences, however, I consider best to postpone. At present, I can only come to one conclusion; and the result of the Expedition seems to me summed up in this single sentence—It

failed. Not in its primary objects—forming treaties with the kings, and abolishing the slave-trade—but, as the result of all the information I have obtained shows, that no commercial intercourse between the interior of Africa and England will unite the two countries, and so facilitate that access for which Missionaries are looking and longing; and that the extreme unhealthiness of the river will ever prove a great barrier to all the undertakings, on its banks, of European Agents.

Captain Bird Allen is still alive, and appears somewhat better. Captain Trotter convalescent. We left the Confluence about 10 o'clock A.M.; and had a fine day's voyage, arriving at Iddah before 6 o'clock P.M. All hands being at work, we could not have Service before the evening, when, after sun-set, we assembled on the quarter-deck.

Oct. 11—I got up this morning, after a restless night, with much headache, a foul tongue, and great langour—the usual symptoms of the approach of fever. I took some medicine early; but felt the same symptoms, more or less, all day. I was unfit for any employment, and retired immediately after Prayers, apprehending more illness.

Oct. 12 — Through the tender mercy of God, I was better this morning. I found that we had anchored, last night, near Keri—more properly called Onye Market. The Attah's dominions extend to this place; where, also, Obi's territory commences. About 9 o'clock A.M. a heavy rain came on, which detained us for about an hour. The disadvantage to which we were thus subjected was sufficiently atoned for by the cool air which followed, and which is the only thing that can prove beneficial to our invalids. We arrived at Aboh, or Ibo, about 5 o'clock P.M. I went on shore immediately, to see Obi and Simon Jonas. Obi had cut fire-wood for us; and I entreated him to get it sent on board very early next morning, that we might not be delayed. I was not a little surprised to observe that the river at Aboh had actually risen since we left, owing to the heavy rain which falls in October, in this region; though the rainy season may be said to be over in the interior. We got along, in our boat, to the very entrance of Obi's palace; which we could not do when we were here before. The water must have risen at least three feet. The inhabitants are at present obliged, if they wish to go from one house to

the other, either to wade through the water up to their knees, or to use their little canoes. Their yards, which are generally very small, are a complete morass. Their houses are built on banks of clay, about two or three feet above the water and mud. They must be somewhat of an amphibious nature; since it is evident that they can live both on dry land and in mud and filth, if not actually in water; and yet they are a strong and healthy-looking people. They consider this season the healthiest for them; and dread very much the approach of the dry season, as they are then subject to much disease.

Obi reminded me of my promise to send him Teachers; and offered to get a better place for them than the town in which he is living. May the Lord put it into the hearts of some Ibo people at Sierra Leone to go and preach Christ Jesus to their benighted countrymen! It is to such persons that we must look, and whom we must expect to become the Messengers of Peace throughout Africa.

We returned to the "Albert" about 8 o'clock P.M. and, I am sorry to state, found Mr. Kingdon, who was taken on board at the Confluence, suffering severely from fever, and in a dying state.

Captain Bird Allen was very weak, but, as usual, in a happy frame of mind. Mr. Kingdon exchanged, about midnight, a world of sorrow and trouble for one of never-ending joy.

Oct. 13—Obi faithfully performed his promise. Early this morning several canoes arrived with fire-wood. Obi came on board; and, by his kind assistance, our vessel was soon supplied, not only with fire-wood, but also with fowls, goats, yams, and plantains in great abundance: no delay was occasioned. I went, early this morning, to the opposite island, in search of a dry spot, where to deposit the mortal remains of the late Mr. Kingdon; but the water covered the whole island, and it was impossible to land. We were therefore obliged to seek for a place on the main land; and two men, in a native canoe, assisted us. We advanced a considerable distance, through a narrow creek, until we arrived at a tree of an immense size, the largest I have ever seen in Africa; under which there were many native canoes, full of people, who, at our approach, ran off in great confusion. I remained under the tree, while our Kroomen went in search of a dry spot, fit to receive the remains of a brother in Christ, till the time when

all shall rise to a glorious immortality. Afterward, the Natives took courage, and returned in great numbers around me. I could understand almost all they said, though the dialect differed much from that of which I had acquired some knowledge. They said among themselves, that, as we were Obi's friends, they could charge us nothing for the burial-place; but that we should pay some rum to the Moa-Tshuku—Spirit of God—under the large tree, which is held by all in superstitious veneration, so that the spirit of the White Man might not hurt them nor their children. As I had no Interpreter with me, I could not say much to them; but I believe I satisfied them, that they had nothing to fear from the spirit of the White Man, who I knew was happy with God in heaven. The Kroomen succeeded in finding a place, in a very small village called Barra; and the people allowed them, most readily, to dig a grave between two houses, in which Mr. Kingdon was buried. They stood around us in silent amazement, while I read the Funeral Service.

On our return, at 10 o'clock A.M. we found the vessel ready to leave. Captain B. Allen appeared a little better, as also Captain Trotter;

and several of the sailors had left their hammocks, and were moving about a little. I felt very anxious to see the salt-water again, on account of the sick ; though it cost me much to make up my mind or to be reconciled to our return.

I learned, from Simon Jonas, a few more particulars, in addition to those before mentioned, of the Ibo People, which I will here state.—Simon Jonas has been with Obi for about three weeks, during which time Obi treated him kindly. Simon employed his time, partly in making clothes for the king, and teaching others the art of sewing ; and, partly, in teaching children English, and speaking to old and young about the Christian Religion. He was quite delighted with his employment, and only regretted that he had no elementary books with him. The children, he said, flocked around him daily, to learn something from him ; and he estimates their number to be about 2000. The population he could not state exactly ; but he was confident that there were more than 2000 school-children, boys and girls. The number of domestic slaves, according to his testimony, is greater than the number of free people ; and the treatment they

receive at the hands of their masters is humane and kind. They are allowed, after some years' service, to build houses for themselves, to accumulate property, and to marry wives; and some are said to have married as many as five or six, which is the surest sign of their increase in wealth. When they have built their own houses, they are considered free, and cannot again be called upon to work for Obi, or for their former proprietors; but an annual tax is levied upon them by Obi. Each has to pay forty yams to Obi, in the yam season; and those who have acquired many sheep and goats must pay him some of them also. The people from Bonny come up as far as Ibo, for palm-oil; for which they pay, chiefly, rum, gunpowder, and guns. Very few European articles of clothing find their way here. Obi has a large quantity of rum and powder, and is said to be very liberal in the distribution of the rum. It is the custom of the principal people of the town to wait on him every morning, in several divisions, each of which comprises six persons; and each party receives a bottle of rum. Obi's beverage consists, chiefly, of palm-wine: now and then he takes a little rum. The domestic slaves of Obi, and of

other people, belong to various nations: a great number of them are Ibos; others are Nufi, Kankanda, or Hausa People.

About 2 o'clock P.M. we were suddenly cheered with the news, that the "Soudan" was in sight. All were sure of receiving letters from England; but we were particularly anxious to hear how the invalids were getting on, who went down on board of her. However, it was not the "Soudan," but the "Ethiope," Captain Beecroft. No letters from England; but mournful tidings from Fernando Po, of mortality among our friends and companions. We learned, from several letters, that the "Soudan" reached the mouth of the river two days after her departure from the Confluence; and much praise is due to Lieut. Fishbourne, for his exertions in conveying the sufferers, with almost incredible speed, to healthier regions. Several, however, had finished their earthly career before her arrival at sea; and some died soon after they had reached Fernando Po. I will mention their names, and the vessels to which they belonged.

Of the "Soudan:" Mr. Marshal, Surgeon; Mr. Coleman, Assistant-surgeon; Mr. Waters, Purser.

Of the "Wilberforce:" Mr. Wakeham, Purser ; one of the Stokers; and one Marine.

Of the "Albert:" Mr. Hervey, Master ; Mr. Wolf, Seaman's Schoolmaster.

The "Soudan" met H.M. ship "Dolphin" at the mouth of the river ; and thirty-eight sufferers were immediately put on board of her, and conveyed to Ascension Island. Amidst these painful circumstances, it was to us a source of consolation to hear that, at the time the letters left Fernando Po, the patients of the "Wilberforce" were, with one exception, improving. Captain Beecroft kindly offered us every assistance in his power, and proved a friend in need. I shall ever think of him with much pleasure, and implore a blessing on his head. By his arrival, our minds were relieved from many fearful and painful apprehensions. Dr. Stanger was, as I have before mentioned, engineer by day ; and assisted Dr. McWilliam, at night, in attending to the invalids. His exposure had been so great, that we had some apprehensions as to his safety ; and, no doubt, a few days' longer exposure of the same kind, in a climate like this, would have brought on fever, and then there would have been no one to work the engine. Before us was the dangerous Bar, of

which we could not think but with fear. Our fears were, however, all removed, in a way we did not anticipate. Captain Beecroft was sent to our deliverance. His first engineer came on board; and by his help we reached the mouth of the Nun, contrary to all expectation, on the evening of the 14th of October. Captain B. Allen was in a very low state, till late at night. I was prepared for his removal to a better world.

Oct. 15—We remained at anchor, inside the Bar, and procured fuel.

Oct. 16 —We crossed the Bar in safety, early this morning. Captain Beecroft, himself, was on board; and took us over. On him, and on his exertion, our safety, and the safety of the "Albert," under God, depended. We met the "Soudan" outside the Bar; and learned from those on board, that the "Wilberforce" had already left Fernando Po for Ascension. Cole, one of our marines, breathed his last to-day. We perceived a wonderful change for the better in the atmosphere, soon after we had got to sea; and I should have enjoyed it much more, had I not again been troubled with sea-sickness: the difference in the temperature was not less than 10°. Captain Trotter was able

to come on deck now and then, for a few minutes, during the day.

Oct. 17: Lord's Day—We cast anchor at Fernando Po, at 4 o'clock P.M. Our medical men went on shore immediately, to make arrangements for the accommodation of our invalids in the morning. To some, it is hoped that a change may still prove beneficial; while others are in so debilitated a condition, that there is no probability of their being benefitted by it. We had one Service on deck in the forenoon: the congregation was very small, but attentive and devout.

Oct. 18—Twenty-eight invalids were carried on shore, in the forenoon: one of them, Mr. Willie, mate of the "Albert," died in the evening. Poor fellow! he kept up the longest, and was the only officer for some time who could do duty; but who, having rendered assistance to all, was yet the first that departed!

As there is every probability that our stay at this place will be prolonged for some time, I thought it advisable to hire a house for the accommodation of myself and Mr. Samuel Crowther; where we might spend a few hours of the day together, in prosecuting our studies, and arranging our papers, which are at present in

great confusion. There is a learned Mallam here, a native of the Haussa Country, with whom I hope to arrange my Haussa papers. My Journal will now be discontinued; but a few more remarks on Fernando Po will be given.

CHAP. VII.

CONCLUSION.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF MR. WHITE'S SERVICES AT FERNANDO PO—
MORTALITY AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE EXPEDITION AT FERNANDO PO — NOTICES RESPECTING THEM — THE EXPEDITION EXCULPATED FROM ANIMADVERSION — REMARKS RELATIVE TO FERNANDO PO — ACCOUNT OF THE BUBIES, THEIR HABITS AND CUSTOMS—FURTHER NOTICES RESPECTING FERNANDO PO—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A FEW observations on Fernando Po will appropriately follow my Journal. In the first place, I consider a public expression of gratitude due to Mr. White, the Agent of the Fernando Po Company, for favours personally shown to me, as well as for the obliging and generous manner in which he endeavoured to render all possible assistance to our suffering companions. We all found accommodation in the Company's Buildings; and under Mr. White's hospitable roof I spent five pleasant weeks, the recollection of which will ever be sweet to my memory. Having been on board ship for nearly four months, to which I became daily less attached, I felt grateful

when I was permitted to put my foot on solid ground. The cool and refreshing sea-breeze which we enjoyed, was a striking contrast to the air we inhaled in the valley of the Niger; and the excellent oranges, pine-apples, sour-sops, &c., with which Mr. White's gardens abounded, were uncommonly welcome to all of us. But most of all consoling to our minds was the thought, that our invalids had reached a more genial clime, and found better accommodations than a vessel, however commodious, can afford. The change proved beneficial to those whose disease had not already assumed too serious a character to be aided by any human means. The recovery of them, however, was not so rapid as I had fondly hoped it would be; owing, no doubt, to the malignity of the fever under which they had been labouring. But it is a cause of gratitude, to state, that on the 23d of November, the day of our embarkation for England, there was only one left on shore, with an ulcerated leg; all the rest, exclusive of six who had returned to England, were so far restored, as to be able to resume, after a short time, their respective duties on board. This, of course, refers only to those who recovered; for I have still a painful duty to discharge; that is, of adding

another catalogue of worthy men to that before given, who terminated their earthly career at Fernando Po, and whose mortal remains are deposited at that place, near the resting-place of the zealous and indefatigable African Traveller, Mr. Richard Lander, as pledges of the love that England bears to Africa. This spot, which contains the ashes of much-valued and esteemed friends, will ever be sacred to my memory.

The following are the names of the persons just alluded to:—

Captain Bird Allen, of the "Soudan."

Mr. Willie, Mate of the "Albert."

Mr. H. D. Stenhouse, Second Lieutenant of ditto.

Mr. Woodhouse, Assistant Surgeon of ditto.

Mr. J. A. Wilmet, Clerk of ditto.

Mr. Milward, Purser's Steward of ditto.

M^rLintick, Stoker of ditto.

Morgan Kingston, Marine of ditto.

It is doubtful whether the two last-mentioned deaths can fairly be attributed to the African climate.

I dare not leave this statement, without a remark or two relative to the character and disposition manifested by some of these persons;

though I know that they are far above my praise.

Captain B. Allen expired on the 25th of October, at 10 o'clock A.M., and was buried by myself late in the evening of the same day. Of him it can be said, with perfect truth, *To live is Christ, and to die is gain*. His patience under sufferings, his resignation to the will of God, and his firm but humble assurance of his acceptance with God through Jesus Christ, made his position truly enviable, and demanded from all who witnessed him the sincere prayer, *Let my last end be like his!* With him fell another sacrifice for the cause of Africa; but it was a free-will offering to Him *who gave Himself a ransom for all*. I spent many an hour by his bed-side, reading the Word of God to him, in which he always felt great delight, and commending him in prayer to the care and mercy of Almighty God. His humility—his faith in God's word—his *love unfeigned*—his tender concern for every one in the Expedition, and especially for his *companions in tribulation*—his mild and charitable judgment in all things, will, I trust, be ever before my eyes, as worthy of imitation.

Lieut. Stenhouse and Mr. Woodhouse were most

amiable and pious young men. With Lieut. Stenhouse I had many conversations on religion, while together on board the "Albert," which, I have reason to believe, were blessed to his soul. Mr. Woodhouse's illness assumed a most serious character soon after he was brought on shore from the "Soudan." He could not, therefore, say much; but all that he did say indicated that his mind was fixed on those things which are above. At his request, I administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to him a day or two before his dissolution, to his great comfort.

Before I leave the account of the sick and dead, I may just mention, that on our arrival at Prince's Island, on our passage to England, in the "Warree," we received the mournful intelligence that eight of our friends, who were taken on board the "Dolphin" from the "Soudan," had finished their earthly pilgrimage on her way to Ascension, and that several others had been ordered home for the recovery of their health.

It has been my endeavour, in the preceding pages, to give a correct account of our condition—to describe things as they occurred, without interspersing many reflections or remarks of my own. But this account of the sick and dead demands

a different course. A feeling of regard for those who fell, and the stigma thrown upon them as "misguided men"—a sense of duty to those under whose auspices they embarked in the Expedition, and the sympathy I feel with the bereaved—seem to call for a few remarks.

The term "misguided" does not apply to any of those whom I attended in their sickness and at their death. There was not one but who knew perfectly well that the climate of Africa was dangerous in the extreme, and had *counted the cost* before engaging in the hazardous undertaking. As far as their motives for engaging in it are concerned, it is, perhaps, not for us to judge. It may be, that double pay was an incentive to one, and the prospect of promotion to another—as human infirmities will necessarily be mixed up with all human undertakings; but to state that such were the motives which influenced the majority, or even any considerable number, would be to state what is contradicted by known facts. Had temporal interest been their motive, is it not probable that an expression of disappointment would have escaped the lips of one or the other of them, at a time when it must have been evident

to each that their anticipations would not be realized? But, to their honour be it mentioned, no expression of disappointment or regret did I ever hear: on the contrary, they appeared, in general, to derive no small consolation from the conscious purity of their motives, and the goodness of the cause in which they had voluntarily embarked.

I must now return to Fernando Po. Much of the interest I had felt in this island is taken away by the intelligence that the British Government has relinquished the negotiation with Spain for its possession. It is to be regretted that this beautiful island seems doomed still to remain in the hands of the Spaniards, and the inhabitants to the darkness of their own minds and the superstitions of their ancestors. The Spaniards are doing nothing for them, nor can Spain derive any advantage from the island. By retaining the sovereignty, however, other countries are prevented from occupying the island, for the purposes for which it is so advantageously situated; viz. the location of Liberated Africans upon it—the extinction of the slave-trade—and the extending of British commerce to the interior of the vast continent of Africa, by the Niger and other

rivers, which are connected with it. I question, however, whether the possession of the island is absolutely necessary for the attainment of the two last-mentioned purposes. A small British Establishment exists on it already, by the sanction, I presume, of the Spanish Government. The larger buildings were chiefly erected by the British Government some years ago, when the removal of the Mixed-Commission Court from Sierra Leone to this place was in contemplation: they are now in the possession of the Fernando-Po Company. The beautiful harbour will admit British men-of-war, as well as merchant vessels; and might not repositories for African commerce be established on a more extensive scale, and the naval establishment be considerably increased, without purchasing, at an enormous cost, the whole island? The decision of this question I must leave with those who are better versed in political affairs than myself. If, however, my supposition be correct, that the land at present possessed by the Fernando-Po Company is sanctioned by the Spanish Government, and if it might be laid out to the best advantage, I can see no obstacle to the realization of the great objects referred to above.

There is one village on the island which is principally occupied by persons connected with the Fernando-Po Company. The inhabitants, including Kroomen, who are chiefly employed on the timber-ground, amount to about 900. Several of the people formerly resided at Sierra Leone; others have come from other Settlements along the Coast; and a few have come from the opposite shore, partly for the sake of employment, and partly to escape slavery.

I was glad to meet with one instance of the fruit of Missionary labour among the inhabitants, in one of the principal persons in the Settlement. I refer to Mr. Scott, who was brought up by the late Rev. G. R. Nyländer, a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, at Sierra Leone. At Fernando Po he holds a responsible office, under the Company; for which, through the instruction which he received from Mr. Nyländer, many years ago, he seems qualified. He spoke of Mr. Nyländer with much affection and esteem. He, with several others, entreated me repeatedly to plead their cause with the Church Missionary Society for a Missionary. The people were for a long time destitute of all religious instruction. Since January 1841, there have been two Baptist Missio-

naries residing there—Dr. Prince, and the Rev. Mr. Clarke, who have solemnized marriages among them, and held Religious Services, both on Sundays and week-days: their congregations are encouraging. While I resided on the island, they admitted five persons to Church Communion by Baptism. I performed Divine Service in one of the Company's houses every Lord's Day during my stay there: the Services were well attended. At the earnest request of the parents, I baptized seventy-seven infants.

There is a day-school at the place, kept by a young man from Cape Coast, who obtains his livelihood by giving instruction. The school is attended by forty or forty-five children of both sexes. He receives as much as sixpence a-week for some of the children; others pay only three-pence or fourpence; and a few receive their instruction gratis. A present of school-books would be very acceptable to him, and to the inhabitants at large. I supplied them with as many school-books as I could spare, and Lieutenant Fishbourne gave them some also. It is truly gratifying to see that the Negroes have a desire for the instruction of their children, and that they embrace every opportunity that presents

itself to raise their offspring from a state of ignorance and vice. May the time soon come, when those who have been benefitted by the Gospel and by Christian instruction shall be mixed up with the whole mass, and, as a leaven, diffuse a regenerating influence over the whole! I look at each such attempt, however small, with gratitude to Him who has begun His work, and will carry it on to the end of days.

The Bubies, or the Aborigines of Fernando Po, are a very peculiar set of people. The appellation "Bubie," given them by Europeans, is probably taken from a salutation with which, on meeting, they accost each other. A *Bubie* would then be as much as, "How do you do?" Several nations have, in like manner, acquired their names; for instance, the Akoos, in Sierra Leone: the name would not be known in the Akoo Country if applied to them as a people, but merely as a salutation. Mr. Laird states the number of the Bubies to be about 5000—evidently much below the mark. Captain Beecroft estimates them at 10,000. The Baptist Missionaries, who have visited many of their villages, and made it their business to inquire as to every thing relating to them, consider that there must be more than 15,000 on the whole

island. Every village has its own Headman, and forms a State in itself. Mr. Clarke was engaged, at the time I was there, in reducing their language to writing, and had great hopes soon to commence Missionary labours among them. Hitherto little progress has been made in civilization: they are satisfied with their own habits and customs, which are by no means commendable. Never before did I so regret my want of the art of drawing as at this place. A correct drawing of a Bubic would be a curiosity. Wearing of clothes has not yet become the fashion among them. They make small hats of grass; which they pin to their hair, that the wind may not blow them off. They allow their hair to grow; and when it is as long as a finger, they dress it in the most ridiculous manner. About as much hair as a lady would take to make a fine curl is separated from the rest, and rolled up in clay, softened by palm-oil or some other grease, until it is about the thickness of a cigar; and when the hair has undergone this operation, a string is fastened round it close to the skin, when the head has the appearance of one or two hundred cigars being attached to the skin. On the left arm a knife is generally fastened; and

a long stick, or rather spear, is always seen in their hands. But though their appearance is very savage, they are said to be harmless and inoffensive, and of so cowardly a spirit, that half-a-dozen Kroomen would drive a whole village before them. They cultivate great quantities of yams, of a most excellent quality; and prepare palm-oil, which they exchange for rum and tobacco. It does not appear that they are at all fond of a pastoral life: they rear no cattle, though they are fond of meat; and pay well for it, when it can be obtained. Their laws are severe. Offences in children are punished by an incision in the arm or leg, with a knife. In cases of adultery, the female offender is severely punished. For the first offence, the right hand is cut off; and for the second, the left. I saw a woman at Clarence deprived of both hands, and cohabiting with a Krooman. She said, in my presence, that the Bubies would kill her, if she returned to them;—she probably meant, for her last offence. The surgical operation of cutting off their hands is, of course, performed by the Bubies themselves, and, as I was told, with a common knife. The poor woman said she had suffered great pain, and was obliged to keep her arms lifted up for several

days. No other remedies are applied for the healing of the wound than such as are prepared by the Bubies.

I have carefully perused Sir T. Fowell Buxton's remarks on Fernando Po, in his excellent work on the Slave-trade, with all of which I perfectly agree. I believe the island would be healthier than any other place along the coast, if it were entirely cleared of underwood, and its soil were cultivated; and if buildings were erected on the mountains, an asylum might be found for invalids. At the same time, I believe that we can only speak of it as comparatively healthier than other places; for there is nothing which could warrant the supposition that it would be altogether free from fever. In its present state, and from the experience we had for several years, it must be said to be unhealthy. From my own observation, and from inquiries which I made at various Settlements, I have come to the conclusion—in which I believe I shall be borne out by the closest investigation—that there is no material difference between any of the Settlements, from the Gambia to Fernando Po, with regard to their salubrity. It may be, that for one season there is less of ague and intermittent fever in one place than there is

in another; but an average comparison of ten years would, in my opinion, show them to be all equally unhealthy. As regards the character of the remittent, the country, or the seasoning fever, by whatever name it may be called,—with which every European must expect to be visited,—I believe it to be essentially the same as that on the whole of the Western coast of Africa. It was fondly hoped, some years ago, that the climate of Sierra Leone was much improved—that the clearing of the ground, and the erection of better dwelling-houses, had made the place much more salubrious. But what say the annual lists of deaths to this theory? They flatly contradict it.—I must repeat what I have said above, that there may be less of intermittent fever and ague, but that the fevers of Africa are all essentially the same. Nothing would cheer me more than to see this statement proved erroneous, and contradicted, not by theories, but by facts.

The above remarks seemed to be necessary, and called for, under existing circumstances. Various reasons—private interest, love of change, and the charm attending new schemes, have often been the cause of extolling one Settlement unduly, and depreciating another unjustly. I readily

admit that salubrity of situation is of paramount importance; and that the most salubrious spot deserves the greatest attention, and holds out the fairest prospects of success. But so long as there is no positive proof that one place possesses this advantage over another, in an eminent degree, it will be the wisdom of Missionary Societies, as well as of other Institutions, to improve the opportunities of carrying their intentions into effect by the means now presenting themselves in the Settlements already existing, instead of wasting time, money, and strength, in making experiments.

I might now conclude my account of the Niger Expedition, as my connection with it terminated at the time of my departure from Fernando Po. But I should be ungrateful, were I not to notice the kindness and good-will manifested toward me, by all the Officers composing the Expedition, and especially by Captain Trotter. By his uniform kindness and attention, my situation was rendered comfortable, and the expense to the Society considerably less than it otherwise would have been. And while I tender my hearty thanks to each of the Officers, may I be allowed to express a wish that the words 'of admonition and consolation

spoken, and the prayers offered up, in much weakness, and in a season of great distress, may not be forgotten in brighter days, but *bring forth fruit unto life eternal.*

JOURNAL
OF
MR. SAMUEL CROWTHER.

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CHAP. I.

ARRIVAL OF THE EXPEDITION AT SIERRA LEONE—SAMUEL CROWTHER JOINS THE “SOUDAN”—DEPARTURE FROM SIERRA LEONE—ARRIVAL AT LIBERIA—PROVIDENTIAL PRESERVATION—ARRIVAL AT CAPE-COAST CASTLE—VISIT TO THE GOVERNMENT SCHOOL—INSCRIPTION FROM A MONUMENT—VISIT TO THE WESLEYAN MEETING—PREACHING THROUGH AN INTERPRETER—DEPARTURE FROM CAPE-COAST CASTLE—ARRIVAL AT ACCRA—ARRIVAL AT THE MOUTH OF THE NIGER—THE CROSSING OF THE BAR—CELEBRATION OF THE LORD’S SUPPER ON BOARD—TIMIDITY OF THE NATIVES TO APPROACH THE VESSELS—ARRIVAL AT IBO—DESCRIPTION OF ORNAMENTS WORN BY THE NATIVES—TREATY ENTERED INTO WITH KING OBI—DESCRIPTION OF HIS PERSON AND DRESS—DEPARTURE FROM IBO—NOTICES OF VILLAGES.

JUNE 24, 1841—This morning, the “Albert,” the first vessel of the long-expected Expedition, arrived. We have a long time waited for the Expedition; but I hope that, in consequence of the delay, we are the better prepared, by prayer to God for His direction, for the undertaking;

and have also been taught patiently to wait on Him, with submission to His will. While preparations were making to join her, the "Wilberforce" and the "Soudan" also arrived. The steamers composing the Expedition, while lying at anchor, graced the harbour of Freetown. They also excited a very great interest among the inhabitants, and were visited, from curiosity, by many persons.

June 30 — To-day, the Teachers' Meeting was held at Fourah Bay*. Captain Bird Allen, Commander of the "Soudan," was present. After he had heard some of the Monitors read, he went out of the school-room, and made a proposal to the Missionaries, that some of the Monitors should be taken on board the steamers, in order to be trained up as engineers, &c. This proposal was approved of; so that those boys whose parents were willing, and whose health was good, the Missionaries readily permitted to be taken.

An arrangement was made this morning, at the request of Captain B. Allen, that I should go

* The Teachers' Meeting is held every Quarter. Six of the Monitors of each School are sent to Fourah Bay, where they are examined; receive small presents of clothing; and are encouraged to go on in their exertions and studies, by a suitable address from one of the Missionaries.—(Rev. J. F. Schön.)

on board the "Soudan." The Rev. J. F. Schön and myself felt this separation; especially as we had thought we should be together, on board the "Albert," to prosecute our study of the Hausa Language. Thomas King was appointed to join the Expedition, and to remain for a time at the Model Farm.

July 1—This morning I took my boxes on board the "Soudan," Mrs. Crowther and several of my friends accompanying me. I afterward returned on shore, to spend the remainder of the day with them, as the vessel was not to get under weigh that evening. About 5 o'clock I took an affectionate leave of my wife, children, and friends. In the vessel, I was placed in the engineers' mess.

July 2—To-day, about 11 o'clock, the "Soudan" got under weigh for the Niger, the highway into the heart of Africa. She was soon followed by the "Wilberforce;" which took her in tow, in order to save fuel. When I looked back on the colony in which I had spent nineteen years—the happiest part of my life, because there I was brought acquainted with the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, leaving my wife, who was near her confinement, and four children behind—I could not but feel pain, and some anxiety, for

a time, at the separation. May the Lord, who has been my guide from my youth up until now, keep them and me, and make me *neither barren nor unfruitful* in His service!

July 3—I attempted to-day, on deck, to fill up the Yaruba column of the Vocabulary of the African Languages; but being unaccustomed to the motion of the vessel, and feeling inclination to sea-sickness, I was obliged to give up the attempt.

July 4—This being the Lord's Day, Captain Bird Allen conducted the Services according to the Order of the Church of England. He read a sermon at each Service. Besides the Lord's-Day Services, he has prayer regularly every evening, on the lower deck: he reads a portion of Scripture, makes practical observations on it, and concludes with prayer.—I find many valuable friends among the Officers on board: their conduct answers to their Christian profession. After the evening prayer, the Officers have a Bible Class in the steerage, for about an hour:—a short prayer is first offered up for a blessing on what is about to be read; and a portion of Scripture is then read, during which any one may make remarks on what strikes him. I had the honour

of being asked to join this class, which I did with great pleasure.

July 5—To-day we arrived at Monrovia. The "Soudan" did not stop for many hours here, before she got under weigh for Cape-Coast Castle; leaving the "Albert," the "Wilberforce," and the "Amelia" tender, at this place.

July 6—Very rainy to-day. When the awnings were put up, our berth was so dark that I could not see to read, much less to write. I did not like to tell the Captain, as I thought that I should do better when I became more acquainted with the state of things in the ship; but as the Captain sent for me to ask me some questions, and as our conversation led to the subject of writing, I took the opportunity of telling him of the difficulty I found in writing on board, and especially on deck, where I was frequently disturbed by the sailors. He very kindly offered me his cabin to do my writing business in, any time after breakfast. He was very anxious that the Yaruba column of the Vocabulary should be filled up, as he wished to send it to England, from Cape-Coast Castle, by the first opportunity.

July 7—This morning I commenced my translation, having with me the Yaruba Interpreter,

Henry Clark. The Captain treated us with great kindness.

July 8—To-day I was busily employed at the translation. This evening we had the Bible Class, as usual. When I returned, I said to one of my shipmates, "What do you think of our Bible Class?" His answer showed that he *cared for none of these things*. Surely *he that walketh with wise men shall be wise; but a companion of fools shall be destroyed*. I hope the Lord will enable me to walk as a Christian.

July 10—While we were at dinner to-day, the glass called "the bull's-eye" fell from its fastening, on my head, and then on the two plates in which I was taking my dinner, and dashed them to pieces. Providentially, this heavy glass, weighing about five pounds, did not fall perpendicularly on me. At night, also, my hammock, in consequence of its not being properly fastened, gave way at the foot, when I fell and got a slight stroke on my head. Had the lash given way from the head of the hammock, I should have suffered seriously. I mention these trifling circumstances, as, without God's watchful care over us, how soon may we, by such small accidents, be humbled to the dust!

July 11: Lord's Day—We had Service to-day,

as usual : I acted as Clerk. I had the pleasure of making a trial to teach the Kroomen the alphabet ; while Mr. Kingdon, the schoolmaster, took the Bible Class of the sailors.

July 12—To-day I got through filling up of the blanks in the Yaruba column of the Vocabulary, and correcting the printed translations. In the evening, the Captain having previously desired me to engage in prayer after he had made his observations, I did so ; and I hope with all lowliness and self-abasement before God.

July 13—I spent part of the day with Dr. Marshall, whom Captain Allen wished to examine my translation. I commenced filling up another blank book, sent to me by the Captain in the course of the day ; but I could not do as I wished in my writing, as the hatches were taken up to clean the hold of the ship. I took the evening prayer on the lower deck ; and made remarks on what was read, according to Captain Allen's plan.

July 14 — This evening Captain Allen read the latter part of the 7th chapter of the Acts ; and requested me to make observations on it, which I did, and concluded with prayer. About 10 o'clock we anchored opposite Elmina, a Dutch settlement, about ten miles from Cape-Coast Castle.

July 15—This morning, at 9 o'clock, we anchored off Cape-Coast Castle. I went on shore with Dr. Marshall. We went into the Castle, to the Government House; but as the Governor was not at home, we left, in company with a gentleman whom we had met there, for the house of the Rev. T. B. Freeman, Wesleyan Missionary, who very kindly received us. As Mrs. Freeman had been laid on a bed of sickness for some time, the arrival of Dr. Marshall was very seasonable. On his return to the Government House, he advised me to remain at Mr. Freeman's, where he thought I could spend my time more agreeably. In this he was not mistaken; as Mr. Freeman took me to his library, and permitted me to make use of any books I liked.

July 16—This morning I accompanied the Captain, Dr. Marshall, and Mr. Waters the purser, on shore. Dr. Marshall and myself went to the Castle, to visit the Government School, containing 170 boys. The first class consists of 26 boys, who read very well, and answered satisfactorily several questions which were put to them. Dr. Marshall distributed Tracts among them, with which they were highly pleased. The school is conducted by a Native of this place,

who was very attentive to his pupils. After we had left the school, we came to the yard of the Castle, where the monument-stones showed that the bodies of several persons were deposited here, till the last tribunal. While Dr. Marshall was taking a sketch of the monument of Mrs. McLean, who died very shortly after her arrival at this place, he requested me to copy for him, from another monument, the following Inscription:—

Sacred to the Memory
OF THE
REV. PHILIP QUAQUE,
NATIVE OF THIS COUNTRY,
WHO HAVING BEEN SENT TO ENGLAND
FOR EDUCATION,
RECEIVED HOLY ORDERS 1765,
AND WAS HERE EMPLOYED UPWARD OF FIFTY YEARS,
AS MISSIONARY
FROM THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION
OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS,
AND AS CHAPLAIN TO THIS FACTORY.
HE DIED 17TH OCTOBER 1816,
AGED 75 YEARS.
THE AFRICAN COMPANY,
IN TOKEN OF THEIR APPROBATION OF HIS LONG AND
FAITHFUL SERVICES, HAVE PLACED
THIS MEMORIAL OVER HIS MORTAL REMAINS.
MDCCCXVII.

Afterward, I was taken about the town by Mr. Freeman's Interpreter, whom he was so kind as to allow me for the purpose of explaining any thing I should wish to know. I returned on board with the Captain, much gratified.

July 17—I felt very anxious to-day for the arrival of the "Albert" and the "Wilberforce;" as I was desirous of seeing Mr. Schön, in hopes of being able to spend a little time together while the steamers were taking in their cargo from the "Harriet;" especially as the plan we had made was entirely baffled by our separation. I spent part of my time to-day in reading the Scriptures to a sick Coloured sailor. He was attentive to what was said, and gave me many thanks for my kind attention. During the time we were lying at Cape Coast, which was about two weeks, I had got ready all my Yaruba Translations; which Captain Allen sent off from this place, by a vessel bound direct for England. After this I got some writing work, in Haussa, from Mr. Schön.

July 25: Lord's Day—This afternoon I had the opportunity of going to Mr. Freeman's Meeting, at this place. It was interesting to me, as it was the first time I had heard a Sermon preached

through an Interpreter. The Service was conducted according to the Order of the Church of England. After Prayers were read, the Minister went into the pulpit; when he gave out a hymn, before Sermon; and while the last verse was being sung, the Interpreter joined him in the pulpit. The Minister read his text in English, and sat down; then the Interpreter rose, and read the same in the Fanti, or Cape-Coast Language, as the people distinguish it. The Minister then stood up and preached in English for about ten minutes, and sat down; when the Interpreter rose, and spoke to the same effect to the people. Frequently, the Interpreter occupied more time than the Minister; on which account the Sermon occupied a long time, and consequently must be tedious to English hearers. The attention of a great part of the Congregation was pleasing; while others appeared to have been brought there merely from curiosity. I had the opportunity of comparing preaching through the medium of an Interpreter with that of preaching direct in the language of the people. How much of the meaning is lost by the interruption, I know by experience; unless the Interpreter is a well-qualified person, as I have every reason to believe the one at this place is. To act as Inter-

preter in preaching, is no easy task. Though the preacher may not be able to deliver so long Sermon as he might wish in the language of the people, yet there is this satisfaction, that the spirit of his short discourse is not liable to be lost, as we may have reason to fear may be the case through the medium of an Interpreter. The plan of studying the language of the people, and translating the Scriptures into it, ought to be immediately adopted by every Missionary sent into the heathen world. Although this is a tedious and difficult work, as it takes years to bring it to perfection, yet, when once the foundation is laid, the top-stones will gradually follow each other, till the work is completed, to the great advantage of the people, and the facility of succeeding Missionaries.

It was very amusing to see the different dresses in which the Natives came to the Meeting, especially the women. Some were in English dresses, and others merely with their country cloths thrown across their shoulders, or tied around their loins. Most of them had their heads shaven, leaving bits of hair, in the form of a circle, on the crown of the head, for ornament. The Chapel is built of clay, called *hrish*; with thatched

roof, neatly plastered and whitewashed, which gives it a beautiful appearance. Almost all the native houses are built of the same material. Those which are well finished are very comfortable, and not very much inferior to stone buildings.

The men, in general, are well dressed, and are in many respects much superior to the women. They are very muscular, and make a good crew; which was perceived in the skilful management of their peculiar canoes in the tremendous surf at this place.

July 30—About 6 o'clock in the evening we got under weigh for Accra, about seventy miles, leaving the "Albert" and "Wilberforce" still at Cape Coast.

July 31—About mid-day we came to anchor at Accra. The English, Dutch, and Danish flags were hoisted here. The three Settlements give a beautiful appearance, when viewed at sea: they are supposed to contain from 14,000 to 15,000 inhabitants.

Aug. 1: Lord's Day—We had Service as usual. I was unwell in the evening, being attacked with fits of ague.

Aug. 2—I was very much revived to-day by a letter from my son, brought by the "Pluto"

from Sierra Leone. Among other news, it conveyed the painful and unexpected death of Mrs. Schmid, which took place the sixth day after our embarkation.

Aug. 3—I took the opportunity of writing to Sierra Leone; Captain Allen kindly promising to give the letter to Governor McLean, to forward it by the first opportunity.

Aug. 4—This evening we got under weigh for the mouth of the river, to complete our cargo from the "Harriet."

Aug. 8: Lord's Day—We were interrupted in our Services to-day by rain. In the evening we had a very heavy sea, owing to our drawing near the mouth of the river, where the surf is uncommonly great. At night, the canoe we had in tow sunk: so we were obliged to drop anchor, to get it up.

Aug. 9—To-day we arrived at the mouth of the long-looked-for Niger; and dropped anchor outside the Bar, to take in a full supply of stores.

Aug. 10—This evening our attention was engaged by a most beautiful phænomenon at this place. At ebb-tide, the river flows into the sea. The junction of the two waters—the one being blue, and the other yellow or muddy colour, could

be distinguished, even to the point of a needle, almost in a straight line, for many miles along the coast. As the blue water retires, so the other flows for miles into the ocean, till the flood tide. About this time there is a very great agitation of the sea. Our vessel being small and flat-bottomed, rolled so much, that she frequently got her sponsons into the water.

Aug. 11 — This morning I went on board the "Wilberforce," to ask Mr. Schön whether any of the writing work I had received from him was to be sent from hence to England. I wrote another letter to Sierra Leone, which was taken by the Captain of the "Buzzard," a man-of-war, stationed here to keep off Slavers from coming in to carry away their living cargo.

Aug. 13 — We crossed the famous Bar this morning, without any danger whatever. The "Albert" led the way. Every one on board prepared to meet the results which might attend the crossing of the Bar; but we got over so nicely, that many on board did not know when we passed the fearful spot till we were told, and so could scarcely believe we had done so. *Hitherto hath the Lord helped us!*

We now got into the mouth of the magnificent

Niger. The "Soudan," with Captain Trotter on board, went to search some of the creeks at the entrance. In doing so, she ran aground; but was soon got off again. She continued her course, and ran aground the second time; when she got fast in the mud, and could not be got afloat until the next day. Captain Trotter searched the creek in a boat, and returned to his own ship at night.

Aug. 14—Having got the "Soudan" afloat this morning, we dropped down to the mouth of the river, where the "Albert" and the Tender were lying.

Aug. 15: Lord's Day—This day we had the pleasure of commemorating the death of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, administered by the Rev. T. Müller, the Chaplain of the Expedition. Seven officers, three Coloured men, and the Captain himself, eleven in number, surrounded the Table of the Lord, in deep humility, contrition for sin, and earnest desire for amendment of life. *He that humbleth himself shall be exalted.*—We always esteemed our Captain and his Officers honourable; but we did much more so, when we saw them humbling themselves before the Lord. May this refreshing feast strengthen us to serve

the Lord our God more actively than we have done hitherto!—The “Wilberforce” arrived, to-day, inside the river.

Aug. 16—The “Soudan” went out of the Bar this morning, to get more stores from the “Harriet.” We had a very great sea, owing to our going out at low water, with a very strong wind against us. This time was chosen, I suppose, to ascertain the depth of the water over the Bar, as well as to try the power of the engine. The sea being high, and the wind against us, the engine stopped many times: however, through the guidance of our God, we went across safely.

Aug. 17—Having taken in our stores, we set out at high water, having wind and tide in our favour. We re-crossed the Bar still better than at first.

Aug. 18—The “Soudan” was run aground this morning, in order to repair her rudder. I took a walk this morning along the sand beach, for a considerable distance. The coast, as far as I went, was low and swampy; which is very much against this highly-interesting part of it, as here ought to be a sea-port, where goods from England might be landed, as well for shipping off the produce from the Niger. The people here are very timid. We could not make any thing out of

them, as we had none on board who could speak to them. Their village is said to contain 500 inhabitants. They have abundance of cocoa-nuts, some of which they brought on board to sell.

Aug. 19—This evening Captain Allen took the evening prayer at the low deck; when he offered up a beautiful prayer for Divine protection, and for the success of the Expedition, composed for that purpose. The "Albert," with the Tender in tow, ascended the river this evening.

Aug. 20—The "Wilberforce" and the "Soudan" got under weigh this morning, in pursuit of the "Albert;" and in about two hours we lost sight of the sea, and were completely surrounded by thick mangroves, on both sides of the creek. Apparent satisfaction was seen in every countenance, that we had now commenced our river navigation; although some could not help remarking, that they were going to their graves.

Aug. 21—We were gradually introduced from the mangroves into a forest of palm and bamboo trees, embellished with large cotton-trees, of curious shapes, interspersed among them on both sides of the river, and with other lofty trees of beautiful foliage. All hands were invited on deck by this new scenery; and the day was spent with

great interest at this novel appearance. We passed, on both sides of the river, several plantations of bananas, plantains, sugar-cane, cocoa or *kalabe*, so called by the Americans; and now and then some huts, and Natives in them. The Natives were so timid, that they several times pulled their canoes ashore, and ran away into the bush; where they hid themselves among the grass, and peeped at the steamer with fear and great astonishment. We got opposite to a village containing about seven or eight huts, where the inhabitants, in very great earnest, armed themselves with sticks and country bill-hooks, and ran along the bank to a neighbouring village, to apprise the villagers of the dreadful approach of our wonderful floating and self-moving habitation. These villagers also followed the example of their informers: having armed themselves in like manner, they betook themselves to the next village, to bring them the same tidings. When they were encouraged to come on board, it was difficult to find persons brave enough to do so. Those who ventured to come near, took care not to go further from shore than the distance of a leap from their canoe, in case there should be cause for it. The Captain, perceiving some

of them inclined to come off, stopped the engine, and persuaded them to come near us. In the mean time we had come opposite to a larger village, into which all the former villagers had collected themselves. There was a little boy who acted as their Interpreter, because he understood two English words, "Yes," and "Tabac," which he had picked up at some place. They constantly told him something to tell us; but he could not say any thing else besides his "Yes," and "Tabac."

After much hesitation, a large canoe came off, with no less than forty-three persons in it. It was with great difficulty that some of them were persuaded to come on board. My expectation was greatly raised, when I found among them a Yaruba boy of about thirteen years of age, from whom I thought we could get some information about this people; but the poor little fellow had almost lost his native language, through his lonely situation among them. He could not even understand me very well, when I asked about his father, mother, and his own town. He must have travelled hundreds of miles, before he got into this secret part of Africa.

Here we were overtaken by the "Albert" and

"Wilberforce." The latter took another branch of the river this evening, to prove its course. The "Albert" and the "Soudan" dropped anchors about ten miles from the branch taken by the "Wilberforce," to spend the first Sabbath of our ascent up the Niger. Plenty of cocoa-nut trees were seen in many of the villages to-day.

Aug. 22: Lord's Day—We are now below a small village, quietly enjoying the Christian Sabbath. Not more than two furlongs from us are a people who know no heaven, fear no hell, and who are *strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world. How inexcusable art thou, O man, who art living in a place where the Gospel of Christ is preached every Sabbath, yet who preferrest to live in darkness, in ignorance of God, of Christ, and of the state of thine own soul, to being made wise unto salvation by the saving knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ! Take care lest these people rise up in judgment against thee and condemn thee, because thou rejectest the counsel of God against thyself!*

After the Evening Service, Captain Trotter, Lieut. Fishbourne, and the Rev. T. Müller, went to the village, with Interpreters; but could not

make any thing out of them, except by three Ibo slaves, who had come from Brass River, to trade in palm-oil.—The Natives are Brass.

Aug. 23—This morning, about half-past 5 o'clock, we got under weigh; leaving the "Albert" behind, as she was waiting the return of the "Wilberforce."* We continued to pass several huts, and plantations of sugar-canes, bananas, and plantains. Many Natives made their appearance, and came up to us in their canoes; some being dressed in old soldiers' and drummers' coats, having on old common black hats. You scarcely can imagine how they looked in these dresses, having on neither shirt nor trowsers, with the exception of a piece of cloth or a handkerchief around their waists. As their coats were red and showy, they took a very great pride in their whimsical dresses. A blue flag, with fanciful figures of man, monkey, bottle, &c., was flying in one of their canoes. They were not afraid of us; for they came of their own accord, with their notes of recommendation from the Captains of former steamers. After we had steamed for about two hours, we came to another

* The "Wilberforce" not making her appearance, the "Albert," a few hours afterward, returned down the river to look for her.

large village, from whence the Natives soon came around us, with plenty of bananas and plantains. The people here scarcely want any thing else in exchange for their fruits besides rum, for which they constantly called out, "*Vlolo! vlolo!*" at the same time applying their hands to their mouths, intimating to us that they wanted something to drink. But as Captain Allen would not countenance any thing of the kind, we could buy very little of their things.

Captain Allen, having received a letter this morning, from one of the Natives left here by the "Wilberforce"—to apprise him that she has succeeded in coming through the creek, which forms an island, and that she has passed on—the "Soudan" returned, to bring the "Albert" the news. We glided down the river like a fish, from 6 till 8 o'clock, the engine working only at half speed. While we were at prayer, the ship ran aground: in the mean time, the "Albert" came up to us. As we could not get her off that night, we were obliged to remain there till the next morning, the "Albert" waiting to clear her off.

Aug. 24—Having been put to rights by the "Albert" this morning, she went before us; as we had to search for an anchor which we had lost.

When we had found it, we got under weigh at 12 o'clock; and could not make back our voyage of two hours' down last night, in five hours to-day, the engine working at full power. We came to the "Albert" at the place whence we returned last evening. We dropped anchor for the night a little above the village;—the scenery still the same; the land low and swampy; the plantations, which are only to be seen in small spots along the banks, are no better; and the huts rude, and very close to each other.

Aug. 26—We set out this morning for Ibo. We have always been very free in steering the course of our ship: having sufficient water, we sometimes got so near to the shore as to pluck up grass from the side of the ship. To-day we came near enough to run against a very strong bough of a green tree, which seemed determined to rebuke us for our insult in depriving it of a large branch; in seeming retaliation for which, it broke our fore-topsail yard, and tore in pieces part of the fore topsail. A little before we came to the Benin branch, the appearance of the river was very splendid, it being of a good width. After we had passed the Benin branch, we were very soon surrounded by a

group of about fifty canoes, containing between two and three hundred people. It was very amusing, to see men in their canoes, and women in theirs, each contending who should out-paddle the other; for women, sometimes, are not inferior in the management of the canoes. Frequently the crew is composed of both sexes, even to a girl of twelve years of age; while many strong men sit in the canoes with their arms folded. The water is so smooth, that almost every thing which floats, and is sufficient to buoy up a man, may be embarked in for a voyage. Some of these canoes will not hold more than one man, while others will conveniently hold upward of fifty persons. They are all so low, that the edges are not more than one or two inches above the water. It appears that here there are not those aquatic monsters, the enemies of man, or the Natives would not have been so free as they were. How happy were this people at seeing the steamers! They gazed at them with wonder, yet with joy and delight; for one of the people in the canoes could not help putting aside his own paddle to dance to the movement of that of the "Soudan," which served him as a drum; while they continued following us for several miles, to gratify

cheerful on board our ship, looking forward to the Attah's territory.

Aug. 29: Lord's Day—Lay at anchor yesterday, a little above Ibo, to enjoy the Sabbath—an emblem of the Rest *which remaineth to the people of God.*

Aug. 30—Got under weigh this morning about half-past 5 o'clock; the "Albert" taking the "Soudan" in tow through a narrow creek, which forms a large island: the "Wilberforce," with the Tender in tow, took the main river. Here we came to a large village of considerable length, containing only one row of houses and one street: it was more peopled than any we had yet met with since we entered the river. Captains Trotter and B. Allen, with some officers, went ashore, but returned in a short time. Passed another village, where was a number of canoes on the landing-place, which led us to suppose that it was a market-town. As we steamed along, the Natives gazed at the steamers with wonder; while some of them were so amused, that they would not lose this favourable opportunity of dancing to the beats of the paddles; keeping up along with the steamers, as far as they could make their way. Besides the pleasant scenery about the banks

of the Niger, there are not wanting those of a humiliating nature. Many canoes were seen gliding along with the current; and the positions of some passengers in them led us to suspect that they were slaves. There was another circumstance which damped my spirits, and tarnished my amusement at the pleasing sight of the villagers above mentioned. Among the spectators of our steamers was an old woman, who was bowing down to the ground, kissing her hands, and then looking up with great seriousness, as if she was asking for some protection from the gods. Whether she was performing this act of worship to the figure in the front of the ship, or to the steamer itself, was not certain: however, it sufficiently shows into what degree of superstition this people are sunk. Moreover, we had to witness the naked bodies of our fellow-creatures floating along our side, or washed about the banks of this splendid river. This is the third time we have seen such unpleasant sights, since we have entered this river. If they were slaves, whose circumstances could not allow them a burial, it is much more to be lamented.

Aug. 31—Got under weigh this morning as usual, the “Albert” taking the “Soudan” in tow.

There was a great change in the scenery to-day. Elevated land was gradually peeping behind the thick bushes on the banks of the river; and the faces of all were bright at the sight of these long-looked-for places. Not many huts about the banks.—We came to a creek, where the steamers parted company, the “Soudan” taking the creek; and, as it was a long one, we could not come together in the main river that night. The steamers ascertained the situation of each other, on the opposite sides of this long island, by firing rockets.

Sept. 1—To-day the “Soudan” went to search a river* on the right bank of the Niger; the “Albert” waiting at the entrance. The stream became wider as we proceeded; but coming to a place where it branched into two parts, we took that to the left; till at last we came to still water of three fathoms; and the creek became so narrow, that it was resolved to return from the search, as it was impossible to go on. The “Soudan” had no small difficulty to return, as she became entangled fore and aft in the woods. Our boats were frequently in danger of being broken,

* This river, which runs into the Niger, is called the Adoh in Captain W. Allen’s Chart of the Quorra.

as they came in contact with branches of trees, some of which the boats many times tore away. About 8 o'clock we returned from the narrow and long creek into the main river; which, as the light of the moon greatly heightened its splendour, appeared to us like the ocean.

Sept. 2—I had an opportunity to-day of proving what I had learned of the Hausa Language. We came to a village called Doko Abbokkoh, where we saw a yam-canoe. Captain Allen ordered it to be called alongside. There was a man in it who spoke Hausa; and, as we had no Interpreter on board who could speak to him, I acted as interpreter of that language for the first time. I was glad that I could make out a great deal of what he said, especially as my knowledge of that language is very limited; and he had no difficulty to understand me. After we had bought some yams from them we started off, as the Captain was desirous of getting to Iddah to-day. The scenery is still improving, as now and then ranges of hills are discovering themselves to us on every side.

CHAP. II.

ARRIVAL AT IDDAH—VISIT TO WAPPA FRUSTRATED BY THE NATIVES—SUPERSTITIONS OF THE NATIVES—EAGERNESS TO OBTAIN EUROPEAN ARTICLES OF DRESS—GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—ACCIDENTAL DEATH OF THE IGALLA INTERPRETER—DEPARTURE FROM IDDAH—PICTURESQUE SCENERY—DEATH OF THE STEWARD OF THE “SOUDAN”—NOTICES OF VILLAGES—DESIRE OF THE NATIVES FOR TEACHERS—SUPERSTITIONS—DEPARTURE FOR THE CONFLUENCE—VISIT TO A VILLAGE—VISIT OF THE CHIEF ON BOARD—INCREASE OF THE NUMBER OF SICK—RETURN OF THE “SOUDAN” WITH THE SICK TO THE SEA—SAMUEL CROWTHER JOINS THE “ALBERT”—RETURN OF THE “WILBERFORCE” TO THE SEA—THE “ALBERT” PROCEEDS UP THE NIGER—APPEARANCE OF THE COUNTRY—ARRIVAL AT GORI—VISIT TO THE MARKET—ARTICLES OF TRADE—VISIT ON BOARD OF THE CHIEF OF GORI—LIBERATION OF SLAVES—ARRIVAL AT BEZZANI—NOTICES OF IT—ARRIVAL AT KINAMI—OPPRESSION OF THE FULATAHS—FRIENDLY RECEPTION AT KINAMI.

SEPT. 3—We anchored opposite Iddah at half-past 10 o'clock A.M., to get wood. The “Albert” and the Tender were lying near the town, where all the Captains and Officers were busy making the treaty with the Attah.

SEPT. 4—To-day, about 1 o'clock, I went on shore with Dr. Marshall and Mr. Kingdon; where

we met a number of men, upward of a hundred, all armed with bows, arrows, and spears. These men were placed here as guards, by a Chief of Benin, from a suspicion that we had come to help the Attah to take away his country; as they two have a quarrel or war between them about a certain part of the country. Some officers from the "Wilberforce" went to their town, Wappa. They were about to be shot at by the people at their first landing, before the Interpreter called and stopped them from their aim. We intended to reach this town, which is about five miles from the river; but another guard party, of about thirty or forty men, who were coming back with the officers from the "Wilberforce," insisted upon our return, as no person might go to the town in their absence. Doctor Marshall determined to go on, as we had come half the way; but they insisted upon our return; and, as I could not speak to them, I thought it better to return, and not act contrary to the order which they had no doubt received from their Chief: so we had to come back, without having our curiosity gratified at the sight of the town. They had on a great number of charms and greengreases about their hair, necks, wrists, and waists, decorated with beads and many

cowries. Some had only dirty bits of cloth about their waists, and others about their shoulders; which, together with their smoky bows and arrows, and their dirty hair, plaited in different forms, gave them a complete appearance of barbarity. Doctor Marshall would have taken a sketch of two or three of them; but when they perceived that he was now and then looking at them, and at the same time writing something in his book, they very soon got out of his way. A sketch of two spears stuck in the ground would have been taken, but they had not confidence enough in the White Man to let him make his charm on their weapons. They took a liking to almost any thing they saw of a European dress. My shoes, which I held in my hand—as we all had to take them off in crossing a marshy spot,—my striped jacket, watch-guard, &c., would have met with a ready sale, if I had been willing to exchange them for some of their arrows or eggs: but their lean goats and sheep, which looked bad enough, were too valuable for any of our dress, which they still were very anxious to obtain. As they were rude in their appearance, so were they in their manners; for they made it no matter of consideration whatever to put their hands to

any part of our dress, which, considering how dirty they were, was not at all agreeable. Fearing lest my watch-guard should be broken through their rough handling of it, and thereby my watch be damaged, I was obliged to deliver it into the custody of Dr. Marshall, as he was more decided in the denial of their fanciful requests. If I had met with a wild people before, this was one of that kind.

After crossing the marsh, the land was dry and sandy. We saw a beautiful plantation of yams, among which cotton-plants and Guinea-corn were scattered about. Having got sufficient wood, we dropped into the main river, as there was more air.

Sept. 5: Lord's Day — The Rev. T. Müller preached on Rev. iii. 1—6, at the Evening Service. After Service, I took some books to Mr. Schön, on board the “Wilberforce;” and, as I had no opportunity of returning, I stopped over night, with the second engineer of our ship, who also went to the “Wilberforce.”

Sept. 6—I could not get the opportunity of returning to our ship to-day till about 12 o'clock, when a boat was sent for us. The treaty-palaver (conversation) was carrying on, on board the

"Albert." As the Attah thought it was beneath his dignity to go into a canoe, the Commander of the Expedition, and his friends, were obliged to go to his majesty. I had been very anxious to go on shore at this place; but an accident of a most painful nature took place, which deprived me of the opportunity. The Igalla Interpreter, whose services were mostly needed at this place, accidentally fell overboard from the "Albert," and was drowned. I was just on the way to ask permission to go on board the "Albert," as she was going nearer the town, with all who were desirous of going on shore; when she got under weigh, in search of this poor man, who had made himself very useful in this country. *The Lord seeth not as man seeth. Trust not in man, whose breath is in his nostrils: for wherein is he to be accounted of?*

In the evening we got under weigh, leaving the "Albert" at Iddah. The First Lieutenant, and some of our men, were taken ill here. Dr. Marshall returned from the "Albert:" he appeared unwell. As I could not go on shore here, I turned my attention to reading to the sick men on board, and cheering up their spirits.

Sept. 7—The scenery to-day was the most picturesque we had seen since we entered the river.

From Iddah, ridges of mountains burst into view; and on coming near them, others again discovered themselves behind them. As the river winds, many of the mountains which we had passed were seen behind us: in a few words, we were completely surrounded by mountains, most of which are very rocky, and we had to encounter a very strong current between them.

I visited the patients frequently to-day; and read portions of Scripture to them, as long as they could bear it.

Sept. 8—Passed Keri market: a great number of people were seen busying themselves about.—We steamed right between mountains to-day, with a very strong current against us.

Sept. 9—This morning the steward of the "Soudan" breathed his last. His soul took its flight, I trust, to be with Jesus, whom he had continually before his eyes as his only hope. In the forenoon, I buried him in a small island on the Niger, where he must lie till the Resurrection Day.

Sept. 10—This morning the "Albert" and the "Wilberforce" came up to us, where we were getting wood. Captain B. Allen immediately came to his ship. He took all his unexpected afflictions with Christian resignation. I went with

Mr. Sidney, one of the officers, to a village on the top of the hill, below which we were wooding. These villagers are refugees from the town of Addu Kuddu, on the right side of the river at the Confluence, having been driven away by the Fulatahs. From the top of the hill, you may see three other villages at the foot. The one on the top of the hill contains 200 inhabitants: the four together contain 800, at an average. The people are Kakandas. As I could understand them a little, I mentioned to them the design of the Expedition, at which they were transported with joy. One of them was so confident, that he wished to go with the White Men altogether. I asked them whether they would like me to stay among them, and teach them about God?—they all answered in the affirmative.

The Chief of this village, an old man about sixty, had been sacrificing a fowl to his idol this morning. The blood he sprinkled on his forehead, to which were attached a few of the fowl's feathers. His idol is rather difficult to describe, as it was a mixture of some sort of grass or palm-leaves, clay, and broken pieces of calabashes; to which feathers of fowls were fastened by means of blood. I shook my head, indicating

that it was not good; at the same time pointing my finger to Heaven, directing him to worship the only True God. He did not pay much attention. They all took fright at Mr. Sidney's instrument to take the distances; but their fears soon subsided. Their huts are built in the same form as those of Iddah—a circular form; and they are so low and close to each other, that if a fire should break out in one, the whole village of about sixty huts would be consumed in a moment. The village is so filthy, that the stench of it was insufferable. The spot where it stands is one of the most airy, eight miles below the Confluence: it commands an extensive view. The villagers have large farms of Guinea-corn, which grows beautifully: it does credit to their industry. They have been here only three years.—We got under weigh for the Confluence.

Sept. 11—This morning we anchored near a village about a mile from the Confluence, nearly opposite the ruins of Addu Kuddu, to take in the Chief, who, with his people, had taken refuge here. As he delayed his coming, I took the opportunity, in company with some officers from our ship, to visit the village. It is in the same condition as that on the hill, except that it is more

populous, and on a low land. There are a few persons here who speak Hausa. I mentioned to them the object of the Expedition; but it seemed to them as an idle tale: they would hear it again, lest their ears should have deceived them at what I told them. There are, perhaps, 1000 inhabitants in this village. They seemed to have been greatly impoverished through their desertion: they are very ragged and dirty indeed. We returned from this unpleasant village in a short time.

The Chief, for whom we had been waiting, came at last, with a band of musicians, attended by three of his eunuchs; and a servant at his side, who continually kept fanning him. He felt himself greatly honoured that he was taken on board the steamer, while he ordered his canoe away. His music was not welcome, as we then had many sick persons on board. We lay at anchor near the ruins of Addu Kuddu, as that spot was first pitched upon for the new Settlement. I went on shore with Mr. Webb, who went a shooting, as the Guinea-fowls were flying wild in all directions. The town appeared to have been large: it is now overgrown with bushes, so that it was impossible to go round it. It is fortified by a

mud wall; and a trench, in the form of a semi-circle, as the river fortified the front. From the number of large country pots buried in the ground (or may properly be called pot-ponds), each containing from fifty to one hundred gallons of water, it appears that the dyeing-trade was carried on here to a great extent. I counted fifty-five of the larger of these ponds, about six feet in the ground, and about three feet in diameter. The first tent was pitched on the heap of potash-ashes, in the midst of the ruins. After we had wearied ourselves in disentangling ourselves from the thick bushes, we sat and rested awhile under a large monkey bread-tree, where it appears the elders of this town used to pass some of their time in pleasant conversation. We returned to our ship about sun-set.

Sept. 12: Lord's Day—This evening the Rev. T. Müller kept the Evening Service: our congregation was very small, owing to so many being taken ill at once. Still we have cause for thankfulness that no other one has yet been removed by death in our ship. Dr. Marshall and Lieutenant Ellis are still very ill.

Sept. 13—The number of our sick greatly increased. We have now sixteen on the list, all

cases of fever: however, some of those who were first taken ill are nicely recovering. The two engineers are added to the list.

We shifted our anchorage to the new spot pitched upon for the Settlement. I went this morning, accompanied by Mr. Waters the Purser, to a village at the foot of Sterling Mountain, to engage the Natives to get wood. As they were not aware of this, and as the villagers were not at home, they could not be got till to-morrow: they are Kakandas. I had an Haussa man in the village, who acted as Interpreter.

Sept. 14 -- 16—It was no small difficulty to get those men whom we went to hire, because no present was first made to the Chief. After many shiftings and excuses, the bargain was made for 500 cowries each man; and then twenty-one men were sent to work. I was pleased to see them set to work cheerfully. One or two first gave the stroke, then the rest followed their example. Could plenty of wood have been got hereabout, they would have cut as much as we wanted. They worked only half the day, in consequence of rain; but were paid, according to agreement. Being paid off in the evening, we gave the Headman to understand, that as we had paid his men liberally

for their half day's work, they ought to come readily to-morrow, in case we should want them again. He assured us of their readiness to come; but in the morning, when I was requested by Captain Allen to call the men to work again, they could not be found. After I had waited for more than an hour, five unhealthy persons were brought, to go to work with our men, for 400 cowries each; and as I had no prospect of getting others, I refused them altogether, and returned to the ship.

Sept. 17—As I was busy purchasing for the Purser, who himself is now laid up with fever, I was robbed of some handkerchiefs, with which I was bartering; for there were many people about me in the ship. I must say, that this people, generally speaking, are honest; and I rather wonder that such acts of dishonesty were not more common with them, as they were exposed to many temptations on board the ship, where many things were lying about. We buy of them by certain measures of cowries, which we told them contained a certain number; but as they would take the trouble of counting thousands of cowries, placing them in heaps of one or two hundred, they very honestly returned the over-

plus, which of course we never took from them. They count by fives, with the same quickness as we count by twos. Under a pretence of distrust, we counted some of these heaps of one or two hundred after them, which we always found to be quite right. If there should be found one dishonest person among this people, that should not be the reason of charging the whole with guilt. For their articles they charge most extravagantly: for what they want 1000 cowries—the most reasonable price—they will at first ask 7 or 8000; and if one is not aware of this trick, he will very soon empty his ship-load of cowries for their canoe-cargo. So fond are this people of cowries, that when they would not take a handkerchief of five-pence value, they would readily take 150 cowries, scarcely valuing two-pence farthing, at the rate of 860 cowries for a shilling. They love to give presents, because they expect to receive in return twice as much. They are very fond of looking-glasses.

Sept. 18—It being decided that the “Soudan” should return to the sea with the patients from on board all the ships, preparations were made for her immediate departure. A little time makes a great change. The little vessel in a short time

was converted into an hospital, completely filled, fore and aft, with sick men. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction, low-spiritedness, and despondency, in the minds of many in connexion with the Expedition. I removed to the "Albert" this evening.

Sept. 19: Lord's Day—About 1 o'clock to-day the "Soudan," now commanded by Lieutenant Fishbourne, having completed her cargo of invalids, Captain B. Allen joined the "Albert;" when she glided down the river with the current, and was immediately out of sight. I hope the Lord will be with them, and preserve their lives for future usefulness. The remaining part of this day was passed in suspense, whether the "Albert" and the "Wilberforce" should go up, or also return to the sea. The Rev. J. F. Schön preached this morning, on John xiv. 1, 2, 3.

Sept. 20—It being concluded that the "Wilberforce" should return to the sea with the fresh patients, all this day was again spent in making arrangements to that effect.

Sept. 21 — Brother Thomas King left the "Albert," to remain at the Model Farm till our return. About 6 o'clock we got under weigh for the Quorra. After the changes, all was lively, and

every thing went on satisfactorily; for Captain Trotter, Captain B. Allen, and many other officers, prefer ascending the river as far as they can, to returning to the sea. We passed many villages buried under water. As the building of these huts costs the Natives very little labour, it seems they do not care much on what spot they build, if they can but inhabit them only for a short time. If this be owing to an unusual rise of the river, it must have been very great this year. About 5 o'clock we came to a town called Muye, on the right side of the river, a great part of which was completely under water: the inhabitants had to wade from one house to another; and some were seen in canoes, which served them for bridges in removing from one place to another. The houses are built in the same crowded manner as before mentioned; with the exception, that many here are larger and higher. We had time to-day to collect a few words and sentences in the Haussa Language, from the Interpreter.

We came to an anchor this evening a little above Muye, as the Natives were to bring us some wood. We took on board two men, inhabitants of this town, from the Settlement, to

show us the villages. They place a very great confidence in the White Men, and were quite free in the ship.

Sept. 22 — We came to an anchor at Gori market about 4 o'clock this afternoon. Captain Trotter, Dr. McWilliam, Dr. Stanger, Mr. Schön, Mr. Brown, and myself, went on shore. The market was almost broken up when we got there. We were led to the house of the Chief; where the gentlemen of the Expedition were seated on mats, in the court-yard, about twelve feet by eight, and formed by five huts, in the shape of casks placed in an oval form. The Chief is about seventy years of age. He appeared to have been so frightened at the sudden appearance of the White Men, that he could not speak a word, and was thought to be deaf and dumb. There was one who acted as his Mouth [or speaker], who answered with great reserve every question put to him, especially such as related to the slave-trade. He denied knowing the number of slaves brought to market to-day, and their being the Attah's subjects. The heat from the crowd, by which we were blocked up in this narrow spot, was suffocating: besides, the noise was so great, not only from the spectators, but from the Headmen them-

selves, that it was almost enough to deafen any one else but themselves. When one Headman calls out for silence, it takes him nearly five minutes to complete his palavering with the people; and when he is on the point of holding his tongue, he is never in want of three or four seconders, who also must scold the people: so that instead of obtaining quietness, both the Headman and the people make more noise and create greater confusion than ever, till perhaps, after a quarter of an hour, there is silence for a time.

The houses are not different. The streets, if they deserve the name, are so narrow, that in many places they are not wide enough to allow two persons to give passage to one another at meeting; and they are so irregular, crooked, and puzzling, that after a stranger has changed his situation for a few minutes, he cannot find his way back without a guide. The streets are very muddy and filthy. It was very amusing to see our gallant Captain Trotter making his way, in the midst of the suffocating crowd, by suddenly opening his umbrella at the people; when, with shouts, and wonder at this novelty, they gave him passage for a time. After we had gone about the town, and visited the market, which was still crowded,

we returned to the house of the Chief, when Captain Trotter invited him to come on board the next morning.

The trade of dyeing, blue, is carried on here: plenty of country-cloths and raw cotton were seen in the market. The blacksmith was busy at his anvil, and the grinders of the Guinea-corn at the stones. In a word, this people are provided with many necessary articles for their use, if they were only put in a better way of preparing them. The crowd followed us to the boat. As all the crew were not present, and we had to wait for them, the Natives came about the boat in great numbers; offering for sale, even to Captain Trotter himself, smoked dried fish, limes, small bags made of grass, &c. As I could not bear this act of rudeness, which I well knew proceeded from ignorance, I was obliged to frighten them away from him by the boat-hook.—Captain Allen was taken ill to-day.

Sept. 23 — Etshikung, the Chief of Gori, came on board this morning, according to promise. Yesterday, his spokesman denied their being the Attah's subjects. At one time, he said that they were independent people of themselves; and at another time, that they were subject to the

Fulatahs, to whom they pay a yearly tax of 360,000 cowries; but, happily, the Attah's son was on board to-day, and the Chief then readily acknowledged that he was the Attah's subject. Notwithstanding the proclamation of the law which was made by the Prince among his father's subjects, the Chief acknowledged that there were five slaves sold in the market yesterday*.

An opportunity was offered to-day of showing the people, by example, the true design of the Expedition. A canoe, owned by a Native of Muye, came alongside from Egga, with three slaves and three colts on board. According to his statement, at one time he had been absent from home about twenty-one days, and at another time about three months; and that he did not have an opportunity of hearing the law, as his father, whose was the canoe with the property, did not send a message to him about it. After a fair trial before the Prince, the Chief of Gori, and many others, the three slaves were liberated; and the canoe with the cargo, was left to him, to excuse his ignorance of the law; or otherwise the whole would have been forfeited.

* The selling of the five slaves took place before the proclamation.—J. F. S.

In the presence of the Prince, the Chief of Gori, and the owner of the slaves, a new suit of clothes was given to each of the slaves; when their dirty and threadworn-out clothes were taken from them, and committed to the stream of the Niger, the rapid messenger; by them to proclaim, to as many as might see them, the benevolent intention of the Queen of Great Britain in sending out this Expedition. The poor slaves fell on their knees, in token of gratitude for their liberation. Two of the slaves are Yagba women: the Yagba is a dialect of Yaruba. They calculated their country to be about nine days' journey to this place from the interior. The young man is a Bunu: the dialect between Nufi and Kakanda. One of the women was asked whether she would prefer returning to her country, if there was an opportunity to do so. "No," said she; "there is no more safety in my home than it was before I was liberated." She was first sold by her husband, through jealousy, three years ago, as it appears from her own statement; and since that time she had been sold four times. She prefers remaining in the English Settlement. The other two were kidnapped. Ibodung is at present the limit of the Attah's territory, although

it extended before as far as Rabba*. The Prince was not well pleased, as his plea for the owners of the slaves was not listened to. The fright he took at Captain Trotter's asking him to go with him as far as Egga and Rabba, and his subsequent impatience at hailing his canoe alongside, especially as we had gone beyond Ibodung, showed his dreadful fear of the Fulatahs. The people here are a mixture of Kakandas and provincial Nufis, as they are called.

Sept. 24—Got under weigh about 6 o'clock this morning, and dropped anchor for a short time at a village called Bezzani, on the left side of the river, to buy wood. Went on shore with Mr. Schön and Dr. Stanger. This village also was inundated, on account of which it was very filthy and muddy. Some of the houses had fallen in; others were ready to fall; and others were no better than pigsties, for their mud-diness. The best and driest was the blacksmith's shop: it is roomy, and would have been comfortable if kept clean. The inhabitants, about 150, are in a miserable condition. Poor fellows! They are greatly impoverished by the Fulatahs, to whom they told us they pay a monthly tax:

* Very doubtful.—J. F. S.

and when they cannot afford to pay it, they must run away into the bush, to prevent their being taken away to be sold. They considered themselves already as slaves of the Fulatahs, because they are entirely under their power. They pointed out a village not far from theirs, on the right side of the river, where they said the Fulatahs were.

There are many fetishes in this village, as in many others, consisting of cowries, palm-leaves, and other things, bedaubed with blood and chewed kola, and then covered up with calabashes. Their principal god is called "Tshagiri." They invoke it to prevent war and sickness. Got under weigh this evening, and came to anchor at a village on the right side of the river, called Kinami, to get wood.

Sept. 25—As the ship was wooding here, it was proposed by Captain Trotter that I should go to Egga, about four or five miles from Kinami, to tell the Chief of our approach to his town, and to invite him on board, as well as to collect every information I could. At one o'clock, having two Interpreters with me, one a Fulatah, the other a Nufi, we left the steamer, with the hope of getting to Egga in two or three hours, as we had to stem the current; but, contrary to my expectations,

when we got to Kinami, the village of our canoe-men, they refused to go any further—their heart failed them. They consulted the Chief; but he could not sanction their taking us to Egga, till he had also consulted two other Chiefs; one living near Egga, and the other on the opposite side of the river. The fears of this people plainly showed us in what state of oppression they are under to the Fulatahs. The Chief said that he was quite sure that the men who were to take us to Egga would not return; that he considered them already as slaves; and that his town would be burnt by the Fulatahs, and his people taken in slavery, as soon as the steamer leaves the river, because the Fulatahs would surely consider them as the betrayers of Egga into the hands of the White Men. Notwithstanding all our persuasions, that we were not going to Egga as enemies, but as friends; that the Expedition was sent out on purpose to persuade all the Chiefs of Africa to do away with war and slave-trade; to make treaties with them to that effect; and that his men who were to take us to Egga would surely return with us; his fear of the Fulatahs was so great, and the apprehensions of what would follow were so strong, that he said, in conclusion, that if we would

persuade him to send his men to take us to Egga, we had better take him, his children, and his people, and throw them all into the water, rather than expose them to a greater calamity. It was about two hours before the messengers returned from the Chief near Egga. He wished first to see me, before he gave his opinion about our being taken to Egga. As we had been in the village already three hours, spending the time in nothing else but in persuasion, I thought it better to apprise Captain Trotter of those three hours' employment, before I proceeded any further. He was very sorry that I could not get to Egga; and as there was no other opportunity, the attempt was given up for the day.

The Chief and the people of Kinami were very glad to hear of the design of the Expedition: they could scarcely believe all the news that we told them, about many of their country-people's wish to return to their country. They were quite glad to hear that the White Men were come to do them good. They said, that if they should be much oppressed in future, they would remove to the White Men's settlement at Addu Kuddu; and heartily expressed their wishes for this good work.

Sept. 26: Lord's Day — Captain Trotter requested me to give the Kroomen, and some others who do not understand our Church Service, a Lecture on the principles of the Christian Religion; which I did, catechetically, from John iii. 1 to 20. I hope by this means some may be led to Christ, the Lamb of God.

CHAP. III.

VISIT TO EGGA — INTERVIEW WITH THE CHIEF — FRIENDLY RECEPTION — NOTICES OF THE YARUBA PEOPLE — CONVERSATIONS WITH THEM — VISIT FROM TWO ARABS — VEXATION OF THE FULATAHS AT THE RELEASE OF SLAVES — ROGANG'S DREAD OF THE FULATAHS — ILLNESS OF CAPTAIN TROTTER — VISIT ON BOARD OF NATIVES FROM EGGA — INCREASING SICKNESS — ARRIVAL AT THE CONFLUENCE AND MODEL FARM — SERIOUS ILLNESS OF CAPTAIN B. ALLEN — ARRIVAL AT IDDAH — INTERVIEW WITH THE ATTAH — ARRIVAL AT IBO — FRIENDLY RECEPTION BY OBI — VISIT OF OBI ON BOARD — DEATHS OF SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE EXPEDITION — ARRIVAL AT THE MOUTH OF THE RIVER — ARRIVAL AT FERNANDO PO — DEATH OF CAPTAIN B. ALLEN — DESIRE OF THE NATIVES OF FERNANDO PO FOR BAPTISM — DESCRIPTION OF THE NATIVES — THEIR HABITS AND CUSTOMS — NOTICES RESPECTING THE SCHOOL.

SEPT. 27—To-day we succeeded in getting a canoe to take us to Egga. We started from the ship at ten minutes past 11 o'clock, and arrived at Egga at nearly ten minutes past 1 o'clock. As our dresses were different from those of the Natives, we soon attracted their attention as our canoe approached the town, and became objects of curiosity to the spectators on shore. On landing, many youngsters ran away, being afraid of us. I left the Fulatah Interpreter in the canoe,

to keep watch over our things; and took the Nufi Interpreter with me. We were first led to a man's house whose name is Aruna—he is considered as a gentleman in the town—who would give us directions. Aruna led us to two elderly men, Legamah and Lusah. After I had briefly explained to them the objects of my coming, they introduced me to Rogang the Chief. After a long walk through narrow and crooked streets, we came to Rogang's palace; and in about half an hour's time he made his appearance. After a hearty salutation, by shaking of hands in the name of the King of the ship, and telling him the reasons why the ship could not then come near, I commenced my message—That the Queen of the country called Great Britain has sent the King of the ship to all the Chiefs of Africa, to make treaties with them to give up war and the slave-trade—to encourage all their people to the cultivation of the soil—and to mind all that the White People say to them; as they wish to teach them many things, and particularly the Book which God gives, which will make all men happy. I added, likewise, that there are many Nufi, Haussa, and Yaruba people in the White-Men's country, who have been liberated

from the Portuguese and Spanish slave-ships; that they are now living like White Men; that they pray to God, and learn His book; and consequently are living a happier life than when they were in their own country, and much better off than their country-people are at present. To this many of them said, that they could judge of their happy state merely by my appearance. I added, moreover, that our country people in White-Men's country had written a Letter to the Queen who lives in Great Britain, expressing their wish to return to their country, if she would send White Men along with them; but the Queen, who loves us all as her children, told them to stop till she had first sent her ships to the Chiefs of Africa, to persuade them to give up war and the slave-trade; and if they consented to her proposals, she would readily grant the request of our country-people. The ships are now come; the King of Ibo, and the Attah, king of Igalla, had consented to all that the Queen of Great Britain sent the King of the ship to say to them; and that if all the other Chiefs would consent to do the same, they would soon see their people, whom they had lost for many years and supposed to have been dead, come in this river with their property,

and some even in their own ships, to carry on legitimate trade with them, as they do in the White-Men's country. Rogang, the Chief, was very much pleased to hear this good news; but as he is only a Chief under Sumoh Zakki—properly Sumo Sariki—the Fulatah king of Rabba, he deferred giving me an answer to the principal subjects of my message till he had called me to his court-yard, admitting no more than about five of his friends besides Legamah and Lusah, when he ordered the gate to be shut. He said that he was very glad to hear all that the White Men have come to do: and as for his part, he would have very readily and gladly done as they wish, had it been in his power; but that before any thing of the kind could be done, it must be referred to Sumo Sariki at Rabba, as whatever he says is the law. He answered, very readily, many questions put to him; but was exceedingly shy in answering those which related to the Fulatahs. He frequently referred me to Rabba, where he said we could get all the information about them much better. He received the presents which I brought him from the Captain with gratitude. These consisted of an Arabic Bible, which I first gave him, assuring him, that if he

and his people would but mind what this book teaches, it would bring peace into the country, and make them a happy people. I then gave him the remainder of the presents; which were, two yards of fine scarlet cloth, a looking-glass with gilt frame, and a case of knives, razors, &c. He presented me with some Gora-nuts, and country beer made of Guinea-corn, of which I drank very little. It was about 5 o'clock before we came to a conclusion; when we returned to Aruna's house, where we took up our lodging.

Contrary to my expectation, I met here many Yaruba People who have come from the interior; some only twelve days ago; and others altogether reside here on purpose to trade. I made inquiry respecting the interior; when I received the following information. War is still carried on. Katunga, the capital of Yaruba, was deserted after the death of Abiohdung, the king of Yaruba. Atiba, the heir to the throne, removed the seat of government from Katunga to Aggoh, because the former was too near to Illorin; while Oluyorle, the commander of the soldiers, or head warrior, took his seat at Kishi, otherwise called Ajanna, in confederacy with Ibariba, a people on the border of Yaruba, nearly speaking the same lan-

guage. They have since had three battles: one at Igboodo, about seven years ago; and another at Oshogbo, about three years ago; in both of which Illorin, headed by Sitah, a Fulatah, was defeated with great loss. They have stripped Illorin of all its dependencies. The last battle took place at Wodikura, when Atiba made sure of complete victory over Sitah, the head of the Fulatahs; but Atiba lost the battle at this time: his confederate Eledueh, the king of Ibariba, and his brother Oluewu, being killed, the battle was broken up. They are still harassing the people of Illorin, catching them wherever they are met with. Last year they were reduced to great extremity, being closely confined by Atiba; in consequence of which they suffered much from scarcity of food. Many of the people of Illorin, on account of this, found their way here or to Rabba, they being Mahomedans, on the side of the Fulatahs.

The principal towns in the country of Yaruba are the following: — Aggoh, Kisli, Ibaddang, Issehin, Shakki, Igboho, Ijaye, Iwo, Eddeh, Oshogbo, Illah, Awaye, and Wahsimi, belonging to Atiba; and Illorin, belonging to the Fulatahs. Abbeh Okuta belongs to the Egba dialect, having Shodekkeh for its king. As many of the Yaruba

people did not understand Nufi, so as to know of what I was talking with Rogang through the Interpreter, I took the opportunity of their visit to tell them every thing concerning our coming, and concerning all the Nufi, Haussa, and Yaruba people in the country from which I came. When some expressed their wish that war and the slave-trade, with all the troubles in connexion with them, would cease ; others, who were in confederacy with the Fulatahs, expressed the impossibility of putting an end to war and the slave-trade, except God, who sanctioned war and the slave-trade, should put an end to them Himself. As these men were Mahomedans, and perceiving that they were about to refer me to the Korân—for which they have a superstitious regard, because it sanctioned war and slavery—I waived all disputes whether God sanctioned the slave-trade or not ; but simply told them, that if any body had told me this day last year, when I was in White-Men's country, that I should be at Egga to-day—should speak, eat, and drink with them—I would not have believed it ; and that the same God who had brought us thus far was able to do greater things than those which we had seen and witnessed already. Against this they had nothing

to say, or else they would limit the power of God whom they profess to worship. The people left our lodging about 7 o'clock in the evening, with a promise to return in the morning.

Two Arabs visited me to-day; both of them from Illorin, where they reside. They came here on purpose to trade. As there were many people about me, they did not stop long.

Sept. 28—The Arabs of yesterday repeated their visit this morning. I thought it was time, then, to tell them of the objects of the Steamer's coming; for they thought she was a trading-ship. Their slave, a Yaruba man, who speaks Hausa, was my Interpreter, as they also speak Hausa. When they heard that the Expedition was against the slave-trade, they manifested a very great indifference. The report of the three slaves who were liberated at Gori market had reached here some days before us; and those who earned their living by this trade are prejudiced against us. The Arabs would have been glad to go on board the ship, to see her, if she had been near; but she was still lying at Kinami. Their Yaruba slave informed me, on inquiry, that the Arabs very often carry away many slaves from hence and Rabba, across the Desert; some owning forty, fifty, and some a

hundred, each one according to his circumstances. I had the chance of seeing the Arabs at their lodging: they were putting their merchandise in order, and reckoning their cowries. When I saw among their goods a small piece of handkerchief which I knew well to be of the same pattern as we had bartered for yams down the river, as well as some satin stripe of English manufacture, I said, "This is English cloth;" which they repeated, laughing, "English cloth! English cloth!" I asked where they got them: they said from Kakanda.

Two Fulatahs sent their compliments to me yesterday by the Fulatah Interpreter, to tell me that they wished to go on board with me, when I returned. I was very glad to hear this; but as I was not ready to return on board yesterday, I promised to take them with me this morning. To-day they sent messages again and again, to know whether I was ready to go or not; as they were prevented by my promise from going with the troops, which went yesterday to supply the place of those who returned from the Kakanda war; and that they were very anxious for my taking them on board soon, that they might go to their war-men at Kakanda. As I was still

not ready, and had not ascertained who these Fulatahs were, I sent the Interpreter to call them to me, as I should see and know who they were, before I sent them on board with him. He was absent about an hour and a half, when I set out in quest of him. I found him in the court-yard of Obadanwaki, a Yaruba man, the head of the war-men of this place. He was dressed in a turban, as he is now called a Fulatah. This man speaks Hausa and Nufi with great fluency; and appears to understand the Fulatah Language but very little, if at all. They were questioning the Interpreter very closely about the three slaves who were liberated at Gori market. As they were speaking of the matter, through an Interpreter who speaks Fulatah and Hausa, to Obandawaki, and perceiving that they were confused at my unexpected coming, I stood there looking at them with smiles, while their eyes were sparkling with rage and vexation at our proceedings, because the owner of the slaves pays tax to the Fulatahs. They appeared to think that the Interpreter had given them some hopes of getting the slaves from Captain Trotter; but the Interpreter denied it. As he is a Mahomedan, and his character is somewhat doubtful, I was sorry that I brought

him with me. When they had finished their discourse, I said to Obandawaki, in the Yaruba Language, that whatever the Interpreter had said to them was not to be taken as correct; that if he wished to know any thing about our coming and proceedings, he should come to me. I told them that the White Men had not wronged any of them;—that the man from whom the slaves were taken belonged to the Attah's territory;—and that the trial took place on board our ship, in the presence of the Attah's son, the Prince who was sent to proclaim the law among his father's subjects. I added, that if any one wanted any further information, as I was ready to go on board, I would take him off with me, especially as the slaves were still on board our ship. One in the assembly was so angry, that he spoke abusive language against the Attah: he said, moreover, that such laws should not proceed higher up the river than the Attah's territory; after which they broke up with vexation. The man spoke in Nufi. When the Nufi Interpreter was about to tell me what the man had said, Obandawaki wished him to tell me that the man was only jesting. I afterward told Obandawaki every thing concerning the Expedition, and our

country people in White-Men's country. He appeared to be struck at hearing the news, which I hope he will think well on. In the mean time, our ship has come up opposite Egga, about two miles and a half off, wooding. I got ready about three hours after; but the Fulatahs, who had been so anxious to go on board, never made their appearance. I invited Rogang the Chief, and the Headmen Legamah and Lusah, and my landlord Aruna, to come on board with me; telling them that the King of the ship would be glad to see them: but they all refused, being afraid, lest they should be called in question by the Fulatah king at Rabba after our departure.

Yesterday evening some soldiers returned from the war with the Bunu, a people between Kakanda and Nufi: some were taken captive, and others driven into the bush or to the opposite side of the river. It is said by a Fulatah slave in this place—for from such we received much true information, as the masters or headmen were always shy—that there were sent to Rabba last month, 4000 Bunu and Kakanda slaves, 1000 black cattle, and 1000 measures of cowries, being plunder taken from the countries of these people. The taxes are collected by the Fulatahs, which

they send to Rabba: they are very oppressive. They took away yesterday from a woman an ivory ornament, which some people would not sell under 2000 or 3000 cowries; but as it was demanded by the common oppressors of her country, she readily let it go. The Fulatah Interpreter succeeded in getting this ivory ornament, to show Captain Trotter. This is not the only case; for all the people bitterly complain of the Fulatahs, on account of oppressions of this kind: their goats, sheep, and cloths, are not excepted.

About 5 o'clock this evening I returned to the ship. Mr. Schön and Dr. Stanger went on shore; but they did not meet me.—A sailor was buried to-day.

Sept. 29—To-day, Captain Trotter wished me to go to Egga, with additional inquiries; as well as to prove and correct those of yesterday, by cross questions. I went along with Mr. Schön and Dr. Stanger. They went to the Chief; and I took another way. My informers, perceiving I was getting too particular about certain names and persons in connexion with the Fulatahs, withdrew; and deferred giving me any more answers till the evening, if I should not go off; for they knew who were about them. As I mentioned the

name of Usumani Jahki, a Fulatah, who all the time was sitting in the room as a mere spectator, immediately asked me to show him the paper I had in my hand. I made him to understand, that, as he could not read it, it was of no use to him: however, he expressed his wish to see it; but I refused to give it to him. About two or three minutes after, he and two others went out of the room. I tried to get my inquiries answered by Aruna, my landlord, in a private room; taking care to let nobody else in but his Yaruba slave, in whom he trusted, as my Interpreter: but he also was afraid to go on, as he found I was particular about the Fulatahs;—so I returned on board with very little information.

Sept. 30—I was supplied with additional inquiries; and received orders to take as many cowries as I wanted, to reward my informers. I was very fortunate to get all my inquiries answered to-day, in the private house of Rogang the Chief: there were five of his friends with him. As I perceived that writing before them excited some fears, I put all my papers by, and commenced conversation with them as a mere visiter. I had the Nufi Interpreter with me. I ordered some cowries to be counted, in heaps of fifties and

hundreds, before them. At seeing this, they were put off their guard, even the Chief himself not excepted; when they gave answers to my questions very readily, and gave me much information besides. After I had gained my point, I gave some cowries to each of them, paying regard to their age, as the eldest should receive the most; for they consider elder persons as superior, under whatever circumstances they may be. After this, we parted with good wishes.

As I wished to buy some articles for curiosity, and the people were generally so much about me that I could scarcely move, I sent the Interpreter to ask Rogang if he would permit me to buy what I wanted, in his porch—an entrance leading from the street to his yard—where only a few persons might be admitted. He sent word back, that he would not have had the least objection to do so; but he was afraid lest the Fulatahs should say that he had given his house for a market to the White Men. In private conversation, Rogang asked the Interpreter if he had rum to sell—a bottle or two of which he would be very glad to buy. He said that the rum which comes to them from the coast is almost converted to water; yet they paid 4 or 5000 cowries for a bottle.

My Yaruba visitors, being Mahomedans, were surprised to see me, as they considered me an English Mallam, drink country-beer made of Guinea-corn—a stuff which is held in great abhorrence by the Mahomedans; yet they think it not contrary to the precepts of the Korân to drink any kind of spirits. When they came on board, they asked me to give them some rum to drink, if it were but a small drop. As I took no grog, I told them that I had none. At leaving, my Mahomedan friends did not forget, among many other things, to remind me, when we came this way again, not to forget to bring plenty of dollars, and a large quantity of rum.

I have just one account of this kind to relate: *—As we were lying near the village of the refugees on the hill, a Nufi Mahomedan, who was returning from Keri market, came alongside. He spoke a little Hausa. As he made himself very friendly, Mr. Waters, the Purser, treated him and his wife with great kindness. He took them down to the gun-room; gave them biscuits, and set a decanter of wine before them. Whether the woman had taken any wine before I came in or not,

* The circumstance about to be related happened in the "Soudan," a fortnight before this period.

I could not tell. Her husband placed the biscuits before her, and he himself took possession of the wine. He had taken some before I went in. As it was time for them to go, he was desired to do so. He then took a glass of wine, and asked me if Mr. Waters could not supply him with some for his journey. He was answered in the negative. He again took another glass. When he was upon the point of rising, still squeezing the decanter as tight as he could, he took another glass. Mr. Waters and the woman had gone up: and I was upon the ladder, thinking, as there was no person in the cabin, he would not stay any longer. When he was rising, he took another glass. As I was going up, the servant, who stood on the ladder, said, "Mr. Crowther, he is taking another glass: he will finish the wine." After he had taken this, he came up to us. — It is difficult to say in what state of mind this man left the cabin, whether with gratitude and satisfaction for the kind treatment, which he greatly abused, or with great regret that he could not get a supply of wine for his journey. He said that he belonged to Kattam Karifi, a village on the Niger. He was told to go and get plenty of wood ready against our coming: so he left the ship that evening,

quite warm at his canoe crew. He had two slaves on board. Early the next morning, contrary to our expectation, this man was seen alongside, and he soon found his way into the ship: but to-day he met with an ill reception, as he was not allowed to stay on board for five minutes.

Oct. 3: Lord's Day—Captain Trotter, on whom all the duties of the ship fell since all the officers have been taken ill, with the exception of one, was very unwell to-day. He had not been quite well some time before; still he was making preparations for Rabba. Captain Allen, for whose recovery he has been anxiously looking forward, is still very ill. To-day I gave the men a Lecture on Matt. ii.—Another sailor was buried to-day.

Oct. 4—Had several persons on board to-day from Egga, to sell their articles. Three of my Yaruba visitors were among them. The eldest and foremost of them was he who expressed the impossibility of putting an end to war and the slave-trade, except God, who sanctioned war and the slave-trade, should put an end to them Himself. After they had walked about the ship, and seen the engine-room, they were astonished, and said that we were living in a town rather than

a canoe, comparing it with theirs. I showed them the three slaves who were liberated at Gori market: they said that the proceedings of the White Men were right and good. I asked them whether was it better, to trade in goods, as they were then doing, when all were lively and cheerful; or to trade in slaves, when the buyer and seller rejoice, and the purchased, our fellow-creatures, enshackled, sit mournfully: they said, they preferred legitimate trade. They were very anxious to do something for me, as I have been so friendly with them. They desired me to tell them what kind of country cloth I should like, that they might get it ready against our coming this way again. I remembered then that I had an Arabic Testament in my trunk: this I presented to the eldest, as he said that his brother could read Arabic well. I told them that what I wanted them to do for me, was, to mind what that Book, which I believe came from God, tells them; and also to report, at their return to the interior, every thing that I had told them concerning the coming of the White Men;—all which they promised to do.

Captain Trotter was confined to bed part of this morning: he passed the remainder of the day in

making inquiries from the people on board:—it was too much for him in that state of health. There remaining but one officer to carry on the ship duties, the last engineer who brought the ship to Egga being also taken ill, it was thought time to return, as it was impossible to go up. This evening we dropped down to Kinami, without steam.

Oct. 5—To-day, Captain Trotter was altogether laid up, beside his valuable friend Captain B. Allen, for whose recovery he has been looking out a long time. The ship duties now fell on Mr. Willie, Mate, the only remaining officer not on the sick list. Dr. Stanger takes a part in the engine-room, to relieve Mr. Brown, the third engineer, who is convalescent.

Oct. 6—We commenced dropping down from Kinami as well as we could; sometimes with steam, and sometimes without.

Oct. 7—About 10 o'clock in the night, the Captain's clerk, who has been raving for some days, threw himself overboard from a port-hole in the Captain's cabin. Providentially he was caught by a Black sailor, who immediately flew overboard in pursuit of him. A boat was soon sent after them; and they were safely brought

on board; yet not without great difficulty, as he attempted to escape from him many times. He was wonderfully saved. This circumstance excited all the sick on board, and was calculated to make them worse. After he was secured in a hammock, it was thought necessary to take the precaution of securing the second engineer also for the night. This took place a little below Muye, where we were lying at anchor.

Oct. 8—About 10 o'clock A.M., a little after we had got under weigh, the engineer, who was this morning relieved of his yesterday's confinement, sought for an opportunity, when no notice was taken of him, and jumped overboard: two boats, which were examining the soundings, went immediately in search of him; but he had gone down, and could not be found. This having twice occurred, it increased the distressful state of the ship, and cast gloominess upon the brightest prospects.

Oct. 9—This morning we got to the Confluence, after many struggles over banks and shoals. We did not find the gentlemen at the Model Farm in a better condition than our own officers; for they were all three taken ill almost the same week we left them. Captain Allen, for whose recovery we

have been entertaining cheering hopes, was so low to-day, that, according to human judgment, there was no hope of his living till the next hour. I kept up with him till 12 o'clock at night: he was still very low. Dr. McWilliam has had charge of the ship the last day or two; Mr. Willie being laid up with fever.

Oct. 10: Lord's Day—That Captain Allen was still alive, and better, was a mysterious work of the Lord. Necessary arrangements having been made with the Coloured men who were left at the Model Farm—Thomas King being put in charge—the three sick gentlemen were taken on board; when we got under weigh at half past 10 o'clock A.M. for Iddah; where we succeeded in getting to very nicely at six in the evening, and dropped anchor for the night.

Oct. 11—As a message to the Attah was not advisable at this time, on account of his majesty's unpleasant custom of detaining messengers, none was sent to him; for the present state of the ship could not admit of an unnecessary delay. As I was very anxious to know what the Attah thought of the three slaves who were taken from his people at Gori market, I have been looking out for the coming of his messengers since this

morning. Just about ten minutes before we got under weigh, the Prince and the Mallam came off. When Dr. M^cWilliam asked the Prince if his father approved of their proceedings in liberating the three slaves, I was glad to hear him declare his approbation. The Mallam promised to take a bullock and some vegetables to our men at the Model Farm, when he goes to Keri market.

Oct. 12—About 5 o'clock this afternoon we anchored off Aboh, or Ibo. Mr. Schön, Mr. Brown, and myself, went on shore. We could see but very little of the town, as it was getting dark before we got there. The water has risen here a good deal since we left, while it has very much fallen in the upper part. Many houses which were then in mud at Aboh are now nearly under water. The Natives have to make a kind of scaffold attached to the outside of their huts, on which they sit to enjoy themselves in the evening, or expose to sale their fruits to the buyers who wade thither; or, if the water be too deep, they come in their canoes. We were kindly received by king Obi. The Interpreter who was left here by the "Soudan," on her way to the sea, was very well treated by him. Obi is very anxious that the White Men should come and build the house for

which they asked him a place, as he has found a good spot of land for them, for that purpose. He wished also that a large trading ship should be sent to deal with his people; and desires also to have Teachers among them. Before the Steamer lay at anchor, about thirty canoes had come off to meet her, in order to sell their fruits and country cloths, &c. They are now getting very familiar with us, and are very noisy people.

Oct. 13—Mr. Kingdon, one of the gentlemen taken on board from the Model Farm, having died on Tuesday night, was buried this morning by the Rev. J. F. Schön.

King Obi got all the things that were wanted, with readiness: he himself came on board to see his honourable friends, Captain Trotter and Captain B. Allen, who were both very sick, and he was sorry to see them so: still, he could not help asking for many things which he wanted, when he was told to wait till Captain Trotter should return. He brought one of his Tshukus with him. When Captain Trotter was told that that was one of his gods, he gave Obi a Bible instead of it, and told the king that his god was of no use.—He asked for one of Captain Trotter's chairs, which was given him.

We got under weigh about 10 o'clock; and met the "Ethiope," Captain Beecroft, about 3 o'clock: he was coming to see after the "Albert." Painful intelligence was brought by him of the deaths of eight of the sick friends who were sent to the sea; among whom were Dr. Marshall, Dr. Coleman, the Assistant Surgeon, and Mr. Waters, the Purser of the "Soudan."

Oct. 14—Being supplied with the first engineer of the "Ethiope," we started from our anchorage with her at 7 o'clock this morning, and reached the mouth of the river at 6 in the evening. The men were transported with joy at seeing the salt-water again; and many of the sick seemed revived in their hammocks merely at the sight. Surely the Lord has been with us, and delivered us from many dangers, both seen and unseen! When we left the Confluence, we had many rocks, which were partially covered with water, to avoid, and from Iddah to Ibo many shallow parts of the river to shun; and Mr. Brown, a Native of Cape-Coast Castle, who has some knowledge of this river, has assisted Dr. McWilliam in piloting the ship with safety.

Oct. 15—The rigging of the ship was put to rights, to fit her for the sea; while the men were cutting wood.

Oct. 16—Captain Beecroft himself came on board the “Albert;” when we got under weigh, about 6 o'clock this morning, and crossed the Bar in calm water very safely, and the Steamer was making her way to Fernando Po at a good rate. The “Soudan,” commanded by Lieut. Strange, was met at the Bar, going up the Niger to meet the “Albert.” She returned to Fernando Po with us. This night a marine, called Cole, died; and Mr. Willie, the only officer who had held out longer than the rest, is now very dangerously ill.

Oct. 17: Lord's Day—At half past 7 o'clock this morning the body of Cole, the marine, was committed to the deep by the Rev. J. F. Schön, till the sea shall give up the dead which are in it. We anchored off Fernando Po about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Oct. 18—To-day all the sick were landed, and lodged in different private houses; hoping, by the blessing of God, the change may prove beneficial to their recovery. Captain Trotter has been improving since last Saturday, and I hope he will soon be restored to his wonted health.

Oct. 19—Mr. Willie died last night, and was buried to-day by Mr. Schön. The Purser's Steward died also a few days after.

Oct. 25—Captain B. Allen breathed his last at 10 o'clock this morning; when Captain Trotter, with tears, closed the eyes of his departed friend. In him he lost an active companion; and his ship's company a kind and humane Captain. He was buried in the evening, by the Rev. J. F. Schön; when his corpse was followed to the grave-yard by all the ship's company who were able, the the Agent and many of the inhabitants of this place—lamented by all.

Since the death of Captain B. Allen, to the 7th of November, three officers and a marine have been buried.

Oct. 28—Many persons brought their children, to have their names written down, in order to their being baptized. Some adults also applied for baptism. As their application gave us an opportunity of doing some good among them, we embraced the same. In the evening I commenced keeping a Class of Candidates of seven persons; and on the 13th of November the number was increased to thirty-six. The Meeting was held at 7 o'clock every evening, in our house. The foundation of my discourse was Baptism. I endeavoured to explain to them what that Ordinance is; and what is required of us, before we

are admitted by it, as members, into Christ's Church. I chose the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, for my texts. Their regular attendance, and their attention to what I expounded to them, pleased me well; and I was led to think that they are truly hungering and thirsting after righteousness. There was a great hindrance in the way of our applicants; for many of them have been living together for years without being married: however, I think this is chiefly owing to their want of opportunity, there being no Clergyman in the island. Two Baptist Missionaries arrived here in January last. Since that time about fifty have been married. Besides, as our residence in the island was very short, and consequently could know but very little of this people, Mr. Schön could not conscientiously baptize them. He hoped the Lord will provide them means whereby they will be made more to understand the nature of the solemn vow, promise, and profession which they, he feared, were ignorantly wishing to make to God. Among our candidates was a young woman, a native of the Island, living with a woman a settler, one of the applicants: she resolves not to return to her country-people again, to live in the way they do.

Although I cannot think that she knew what she came for, or what baptism is, yet her disposition to follow the good examples of others is worthy of our notice.

Cct. 31: Lord's Day—After Service, the Rev. J. F. Schön baptized forty-four children; and on the 7th of November he baptized thirty more.

The Natives of Fernando Po, generally called Bubies, are the most singular people I have ever met with. They will have nothing to do with clothes. They are quite satisfied with their grass leaves, beads, fowls' feathers, and some bits of monkey's skin, which they tie about their legs, waists, arms, necks, and other parts of their naked bodies. The rich among them have, in addition to these, some lumps of fat sewed up, exactly like large sausages, on their necks, and a very large lump of red clay fastened to the hair of their heads on the back part; while the whole hair and their bodies are rubbed over with the same stuff mixed with palm-oil. As fat is a very rare article among them, the rich alone are able to procure it, to use for rubbing instead of palm-oil, and to wear in the manner above mentioned. They do not wash any more when they come to a certain age; they only keep continually to use

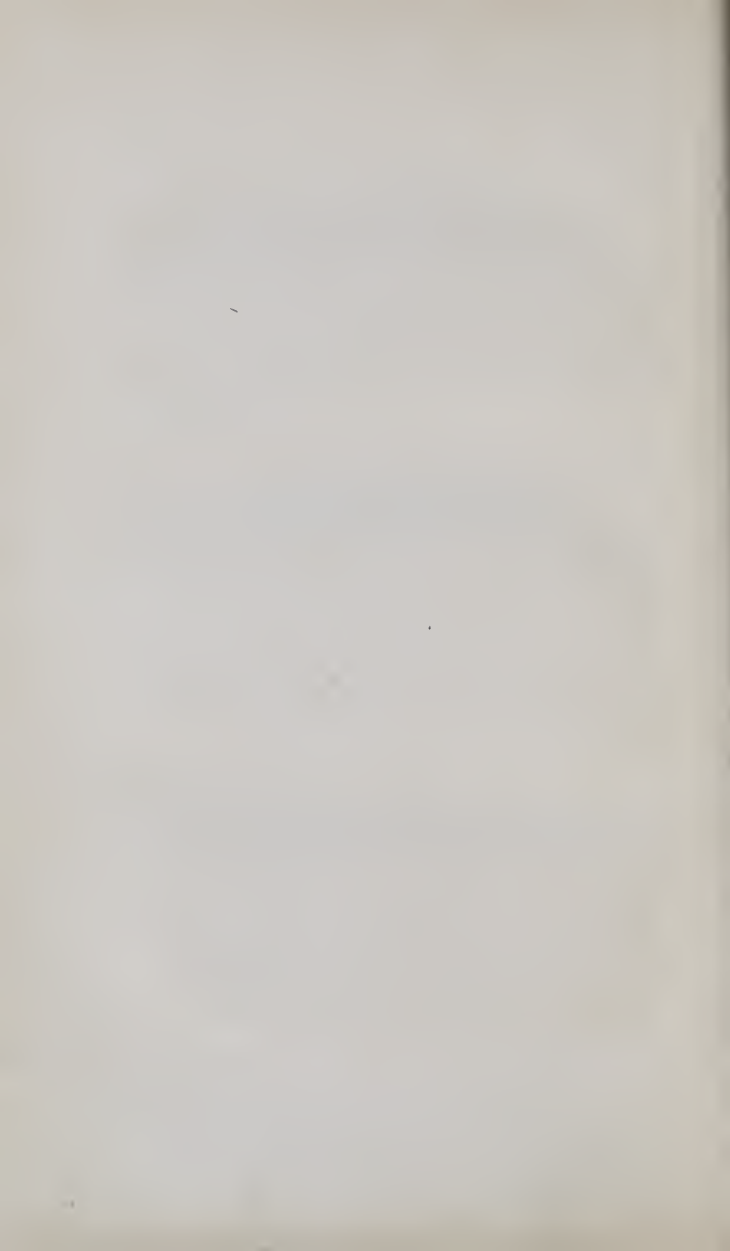
the red clay and grease. On account of this stupid and dirty custom, as it may be expected, their stench is intolerable. Guns, powder, shot, pipes and tobacco, and knives, are the articles which they chiefly want in exchange for their yams, fowls, palm-wine and oil. They are very fond of rum. Sheep and dogs are very valuable creatures which they eagerly seek after. A good sheep or dog will fetch about 4*l.* worth of palm-oil in exchange; and perhaps five or six pounds of lard will not fetch much less. They are very fond of hunting snakes. When the husband is digging a hole where there is a snake, the wife stands with a stick in her hand, watching to give it a blow when it comes out. After the flesh is eaten, the vertebræ serve for necklaces. As is the character of many other nations of Africa, so it is with this people: they love to give presents, because they expect to receive more; and not only so, they will never be pleased with whatever you may give them, if you cannot give them the thing which they at that time are very anxious to have. Their peculiar straw hats, which are always studded with feathers, horns, and many other fanciful things, and their rope-chain, are very neatly plaited; which show that this sin-

gular people are not totally devoid of ingenuity. The sin of adultery is very severely punished among them. Whatever person is guilty of it has no other alternative but must have both hands cut off from the wrists: sometimes one only is taken away. There are two Bubie women now in the settlement who have suffered this severe and cruel punishment: both their hands were cut off.

There is a School here, of about forty children of the settlers, kept in the house of the School-master, a native of Cape Coast. Its confused state is not so much from the ill management of the master, as from want of proper books to teach them. The master tries all his best to supply those lessons which he cannot get in any other way. He wrote out the alphabet and lessons of two and three letters for his pupils; and these lessons are so closely written for want of paper, that in some parts they are scarcely distinguishable. His first class of seven children read in the New Testament, and spell tolerably. They must write only three lines in the week, to save pencils; as he has no prospect of getting more, when those short ones are used out. There is some relief for lesson-books now, as Lieutenant Fishbourne has

distributed many of this kind among the inhabitants, who flocked to him to receive them with great eagerness. The inhabitants are supposed to be between six and seven hundred. The Schoolmaster is supported by the parents of the children, who pay him from one penny to six-pence per week, according to the improvement of the child.

APPENDICES.



APPENDIX I.

THE following Letter was addressed by Mr. Samuel Crowther to the Secretaries, on transmitting to them his Journal. It is valuable, as a further illustration of African Character, under some advantages, though scanty ones, for intellectual and religious improvement. It is interesting also, as detailing the views of a Native on the results of the Niger Expedition, and on the manner best suited to promote the evangelization and social improvement of his countrymen.

DEAR SIRS,

Fernando Po, Nov. 2, 1841.

I HEREWITH send you my Journal, which I was requested to keep during the Expedition up the Niger. I feel it rather awkward, that when there are so many abler persons who will give competent information of every thing, I should be required to do the same: however, according to your desire, I have kept one; and though the expressions used are imperfect and homely, I yet hope it will not be altogether useless. Although I thought, at first, I should have nothing else to say, but a few words to introduce my Journal, circumstances lead me to change my mind, and to say a word or two.

Whoever reads the accounts written by different persons in connexion with the Expedition will see a great contrast

in its going up and coming down the river. The Expedition has met with success, as far as it has been able to go on with its grand object—the abolition of the Slave-trade. Obi, king of Aboh, and the Attah of Eggarra, have very readily entered into treaties to that effect; and sold, or promised, land for Settlements of Europeans or Natives among their people, and are very desirous to be led in a better way. A Model Farm is commenced at the foot of Stirling Hill, at the Confluence. Many of the Natives begin to look up to that place as an asylum from the oppressions of their voracious enemies, the Fulatahs; though they do not as yet see that, if it prospers, they will derive other benefits from it. As far as I can recollect, we have met with no opposition from any of the Chiefs to whom we came; but, on the contrary, all were ready to receive the White Men, and were happy to see them their friends.

But in the midst of success and anticipation of victory, they were at once attacked by the irresistible foe of Europeans—the deadly influence of the climate; so that their progress was impeded. Oh that the friends of Africa could but have cast their eyes on the condition of the ships, and the helpless state of their inmates, when they were lying at the Confluence! I think they would have pitied them, and raised their hearts to God in supplications on their behalf; and thus have been labouring for Africa, whose welfare they have at heart.

There is no difficulty, however great, but our excellent Commanders, and their friends, would set their face to encounter. When the “Soudan” and the “Wilberforce” were sent back to the sea, Captain Trotter and Captain Bird Allen continued to pursue their great work; but almost all the Officers were laid up in the same week. Capt. B. Allen was able to keep up only the day we left the

Confluence; and, since that time, lingered on a bed of sickness till the 25th of October, when he died. On the 3d of October Captain Trotter himself was added to the sick list; but now, thanks be to God! he is convalescent. —Great Britain is willing to do what she can for Africa; but the obstacles are very great, because of the insalubrity of the climate.

As regards Missionary labours on the banks of the Niger and in the Interior of Africa, I think the Committee will see, from the condition of the Expedition, that very little can be done by European Missionaries, except by such as have, before ascending the river, become inured to the climate of Africa. We hope that there will be some communication between England and Africa, by which a European Missionary may have an opportunity, when sickness should render it necessary, to leave the river for the benefit of his health; for if there should be no such communication, he would be left in a helpless state. However, I do not limit the power of the Lord of the Vineyard, who has commanded, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature*: neither do I distrust His promise, *Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world*. Still, I am reluctantly led to adopt the opinion, that Africa can chiefly be benefitted by her own Children.

I have read, in Sir T. F. Buxton's work on the "Slave-Trade and its Remedies," that some promising Youths among the Children of Africa should be sent to England for education; who would afterward hold situations in their countries, and whose conduct would have a beneficial influence upon their country-people. If such a plan be in contemplation for other employments, could it not be adopted for preparing Missionaries, too, from the Coast of Africa, who might become useful among their countrymen? When I saw the

engraving which I inserted in my Journal * at Cape-Coast Castle, I could not but think how many African Missionaries, whose constitution is suited to the climate, might now be employed in this part of the Lord's Vineyard. Who the individual was, I know not ; neither have I ever heard any thing of him, except from his monument. What attracted my attention was, that he was a Native of that place—sent to England for education—received Holy Orders—and was employed in his own country upward of *fifty years*!

But at the same time, I still hope and pray that European Missionaries may be able to bestow their valuable labours upon the Nations of the interior, and lay the foundation of the Church of Christ. I always feel that myself and my Brethren of the Natives are not sufficiently qualified for so great a work ; and I cannot but express a wish that the means of improvement should be afforded to some of us, to make us fit instruments in the service of God.

At the same time, I am fully aware that human learning will be of very little avail, if the heart is not inspired by the Holy Spirit from above, with love for the salvation of souls, and the extension of Christ's Kingdom on earth.

That the Lord may raise up fit Instruments, who may be usefully employed in this extensive part of His Vineyard, is the hearty desire and earnest prayer of your humble and obedient servant,

SAMUEL CROWTHER.

*To the Secretaries of the
Church Missionary Society.*

* See p. 265.

APPENDIX II.

VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THE CARRYING ON OF MISSIONARY OPERATIONS IN WEST AFRICA, IN FUTURE;—IN A LETTER FROM THE REV. JAMES F. SCHÖN TO THE LAY-SECRETARY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

MY DEAR SIR,

WHEN I delivered to you my Journal of the Niger Expedition, I intended to leave it in the hands of the Committee, without any further remark or explanation; and to wait until they should have formed their own judgment on the practicability of establishing Missionary Stations on the banks of the Niger and in its immediate vicinity, and on the probable course of Missionary operations to which the information contained in my Journal would give rise. I entertained no doubt but that a perusal of it, together with the information obtained from other persons who have been connected with the Expedition, would lead the Committee to the same conclusion as that at which I had previously arrived; and that any thing which I could afterward add, would only be confirmatory of, and an enlargement upon, the statements and hints already given. The subject has, however, engaged my mind ever since; and I beg leave now to state my views on the Niger Expedition—of the advantages arising from it—and of the measures which I would recommend to the Society for the extension of Missionary

Labours in Western Africa, humbly praying for that *wisdom that is from above*, for my guidance.

In taking a retrospective view of the Niger Expedition, I must, in the first place, express my firm persuasion, that whatever may be the estimate of its utility, and whatever opinion may be formed of its bearing on the objects for which it was undertaken, the advantages which it has unfolded, and the light which it has thrown on the future operations of Christian Missions, deserve to be highly appreciated. With regard to its primary intention, I have reason to believe that the blessing of the Lord has rested upon it. To prove this, it will not be requisite to enter again into the particulars recorded in my Journal. A mere reference to the account therein given of the transactions with Obi and the Attah, the only two African kings we had any dealings with, and whose influence extends over an immense population and tract of land, sufficiently proves the practicability of the main object of the Expedition. Both of those Chiefs entered into treaties for the abolition of the Slave-trade, after a full explanation had been given them of the criminality of it on the one hand, and the advantages on the other which would accrue to themselves and their subjects by the abolition of it, and by turning their attention to a more profitable and legitimate commerce. The only things which appear to me necessary to secure the fulfilment of these treaties, are, a regular intercourse with the nations with whom they were made, and facilities for carrying on a legitimate commerce with England.

The advantages to be expected from such a commerce, in a financial point of view, would perhaps not be great for some years; but it would become profitable, in proportion as the attention of the Natives was directed toward it. It is my impression, that the most profitable trade for a few

years would be that in palm-oil, which might be obtained at various places in the Delta, and especially at Aboh, in great abundance. I saw but very little ivory in the interior. As the Expedition was in no wise engaged in trade, the Natives had no inducement to show us what they possessed. We were, however, told that they had a great deal of ivory.

The land is by no means so fertile as it has been represented by some persons; but it is the opinion of the Cotton Planters left at the Model Farm, that cotton will grow there. Indeed, it must at present be grown to a considerable amount, as is evident from the quantity of "country cloth" manufactured, for their own use, as well as for exportation. An enormous quantity of this cloth finds its way to the coast, and is sold at a high price in the various settlements. If the Natives could be prevailed upon to exchange the raw material for British manufacture, a great quantity might now be obtained for our markets; and there can be no doubt but that, in a few years, it might be largely increased. I can see no reason why it might not be so with other articles; such as, coffee, indigo, ginger, and arrow-root. It is evident that the land, by care and attention, would yield those articles in much greater abundance, as it now produces them spontaneously.

To any future commercial enterprise the Expedition has rendered great services. It has prepared the way, by expressing the wish of the English Nation for the abolition of the Slave-trade, and showing to them how much more profitable legitimate commerce would prove to the Natives of Africa than that iniquitous traffic. It has given them, too, an idea of the greatness and power of the nation with whom they would be brought into contact; and the impression made on them by this would operate beneficially for those who might continue a commercial intercourse with

the interior. It does not perhaps appear, from my Journal, so prominently as it should, that the Slave-trade—for the misery which it has inflicted on the nations in the interior—has never yet rendered any equivalent, by supplying them, to any degree worth speaking of, with European comforts and manufactures. The abolition of the Slave-trade, even if no legitimate commerce were substituted for it, would, notwithstanding, prove a blessing to those countries, and would lay its inhabitants under infinite obligations to the nation which put an end to it. Through the Delta, and as far as Aboh, we had opportunities to observe that but a few articles of clothing of European manufacture had reached them. Above Aboh I do not remember that, with the exception of a few guns and a little gunpowder, we observed even a single red shirt or any other European article. It is therefore difficult to perceive how the abolition of the Slave-trade could have any injurious effect upon them. But I have no doubt in my mind, that if European articles were offered to them in exchange for their produce, they would gladly avail themselves of such opportunities, and thereby improve their own condition; while England would, in time and by degrees, derive no small advantage from her intercourse with Central Africa.

I must now come to another subject, on which, but for the light thrown upon it by the advantages afforded to me in the Niger Expedition, I should not have been able to give any distinct information: I allude to the geographical position of the various countries, and the different languages spoken on the banks of the Niger and in its immediate vicinity. This subject is of paramount importance. It directs the attention of Missionary Societies to those preparatory labours, for the introduction of the Gospel into Central Africa, which are absolutely necessary; namely, the reduction of their

languages to writing, and the translation into them of portions of the Scriptures. It affords me no small consolation, to know, that though there may be no immediate prospect of entering upon the Missionary work in the interior, much may be done in a preparatory way, by which the work of Evangelization would be advanced, whenever an opportunity should present itself to disperse the Messengers of the Gospel in all directions. I have alluded in my Journal to the different languages which are spoken by the nations with whom we came into contact; but may now give a summary view of them.

The first is the *Benin* Language, commonly called the Brass. It is spoken from the mouth of the river to Anya, a distance of about 100 miles through the Delta.

The second is the *Ibo*, the language of Obi's people and country. I have paid some attention to this language, and have collected a considerable Vocabulary, and also attempted some translations into it; but deem it proper to defer the publication of them, until I shall have had another opportunity of correcting them by the assistance of Natives, and of collecting more information on the various dialects spoken by the Ibos.

With regard to the two languages just mentioned, I would observe, that though the nations speaking them are easy of access, insuperable difficulties are presented to European agents, from the unhealthiness of the regions they inhabit. The work must chiefly be carried on by native agency. Yet their languages might be reduced to writing by Europeans, and portions of Scripture might be translated into them for the use of Native Missionaries.

The third language is the *Eggarra*, which is also called the Igalla Language. It is spoken in the Attah's dominions. It commences below Iddah; and extends beyond the

Confluence of the Niger and the Tshadda, especially on the left bank of the river. It deserves much attention, because it is spoken by a great nation. I regret to say, that there are very few persons at Sierra Leone of this nation from whom a correct knowledge of the language might be obtained.

Opposite to Iddah, the *Benin* or *Brass* is again spoken; but to what extent I am at a loss to say. It is however certain that it is not understood at Addu Kuddu.

The fourth, and one of no small importance, is the *Nufi* Language. At Sierra Leone it is called *Tapua*. It is spoken by a great nation inhabiting the left bank of the Niger, and in some other places; as, for instance, *Kinami*, *Egga*, &c. &c. On the right bank, it begins at or near the Confluence, and extends beyond *Rabbah*. They have many words in common with the *Haussa*. The intercourse between these two nations must have been considerable, since nearly all the *Nufi* people at Sierra Leone understand the *Haussa* Language. It may be, that, as they were nearly all transported through the *Yaruba* country, they had previously been kept for some time at *Rabbah*, *Bussa*, and other places; but in their own country, *Haussa* is understood by a great number.

The fifth would be the *Fulatah* Language, which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is essentially the same with the *Foolah*, and is of course spoken by the *Fulatahs*, wherever they are met with. It might be reduced to writing at *Port Lokkoh*, in the *Timmanee* country, many *Foolahs* residing there. Something has already been done, in this and in the *Mandingo* Language, by Mr. Macbrair, Wesleyan Missionary at the *Gambia*. I expect that, on Mr. Thomson's return from *Timbo*, we shall hear much more of the utility and extensive use of this language.

The sixth is the *Haussa*. I mention this last, following the geographical position of the various nations. In point of importance, it claims the first place and attention; since an acquaintance with it would open a door for communication with an immense population, and over a vast tract of country. At Aboh we met Haussa slaves; and Obi had a freeman of this nation in his employment, as interpreter. At Iddah there were many who spoke Haussa; and the further we advanced toward the interior, the more numerous were the persons conversant with it. At Egga we met persons of the Yaruba, Bornou, and other countries, who spoke Haussa with fluency; and, according to Mr. Laird, all transactions were carried on in it at Fundah. Among my Teachers at Sierra Leone, there were some who came from Bussa: others from Yauri and Sokutu: others, again, from Kabi and Guber, extensive provinces of the Haussa country. It appears, too, that this language has been adopted in a great measure by the Fulatahs, as it is the principal language spoken at Rabbah. The wide extent to which this language is spread seems to be attributable to the commercial intercourse which is kept up between the Haussa and various other nations. The Haussas manufacture a great quantity of cotton-cloths, with which they supply many other nations. According to the unanimous testimony of travellers, they have advanced more than the surrounding nations in agricultural pursuits. Their language, too, proves them a superior people to any of the African nations that I have any knowledge of. It is rich in words; and its grammatical structure is easy and beautiful, which may also account for its being so generally adopted. As I intend to lay an extensive Vocabulary, Collections of Phrases, and Specimens of Translations, shortly before the Committee, I need not dwell any longer on this subject at present.

It will be seen, from the above remarks, that there is a wide field open for preparatory labour for the introduction of the Gospel into Africa. It appears to me obvious, that not much good can be expected to result from Missionary labours unless the various nations are addressed in their own languages, and portions of the Sacred Volume are put into their hands. It has often been proposed to introduce English entirely, with a view to supersede all Native Languages. No one can doubt, that if this were practicable, the advantages arising from it would be incalculably great ; for as soon as a knowledge of this language should have been acquired, the whole treasure of English Literature would be open to the Natives of Africa, and the laborious work of executing Translations, and of forming new terms and expressions for Religious purposes, would be unnecessary. It might also be said, that it could be effected with less inconvenience in Africa, where the language has less hold on the minds of the people than it has on those whose languages have long since been reduced to writing, and who possess an extensive literature in it. But however plausible this may appear in theory, I must question its practicability. I am not aware that a single instance can be produced, to show that any language has ever been entirely superseded. The plan has had a fair trial at Sierra Leone. English has been the only language ever employed in the Colony for conveying Religious instruction to the people, and for the transacting of all business—it being impossible to obtain a knowledge of about thirty-six languages and dialects, which are spoken by different Natives in Sierra Leone, for those purposes : but to this day not one of these languages and dialects has been set aside or forgotten by the Natives : on the contrary, the children of the Liberated Africans speak the language of their parents with fluency and correctness. Instead of

regretting this circumstance, I rejoice at it ; since they will the sooner be qualified to dispense the blessings of the Gospel to their countrymen, when the Lord shall be pleased to open the way before them. All I could advise would be this, that in whatever country a Mission may be established, English should be introduced ; and young men of talent should especially receive a good education in it, with a view to prepare them to become the Teachers of their own country-people, and Translators into their own language.

To press the necessity of the study of Native Languages with any other arguments upon the Society, would be uncalled for. The Parent Committee's Letters to the Missionaries at Sierra Leone, for the last ten or twelve years, show how much importance they have attached to this subject. It is much to be regretted that more has not been hitherto done in this department. The people, however, with whom the Missionaries were surrounded, claimed their immediate attention ; and it was necessary that they should first receive instruction, before they could render themselves useful to others who might undertake the task of reducing their languages. But I fear that the want of success has been chiefly owing to this circumstance—that it was believed to be compatible with the other duties devolving upon a Missionary, and has therefore never formed a distinct occupation for some of the Society's Labourers. That it is incompatible with other duties, past experience shows. The Missionaries were ever willing to do what they could ; but they have always found it necessary to attend to those duties first which admitted of no delay or postponement. I should be deceiving the Parent Committee, and disappoint their hopes and expectations, were I not to express my conviction that more will not be done in future, unless the study of the Native Languages be

made a separate employment for two or three persons, who have a talent for, and feel an interest in such an employment. It is not a business that may be taken up at any leisure hour, like the study of a language already cultivated. You have no books at your command which you may consult, except those of your own composing. You must collect all information from the lips of Natives. Things which you take for settled and fixed, you find to be wrong by the next inquiry. Frequently I have spent hours before I was satisfied about the signification of a single word. I know that this will appear to some persons as an exaggeration of the difficulties; but not to those who have paid due attention to the subject. I have often observed persons commencing a language with great zeal—take down a few hundred substantives, and commit them to memory—also a great number of verbs—but who have, after all, never obtained a full knowledge of the character of the language. In the vocabularies collected by travellers, I often found whole sentences given for single words; the pronouns connected with the substantives and verbs; and no regard paid to the distinction of gender, of numbers, tenses, &c. For this I can easily account. Much research, and comparisons with other languages, are required, which demand perseverance and patient labour. It is further necessary, that a person engaged in translating should have some time allowed to him for the study of the languages in which the Sacred Volume is written, and for consulting works on languages; by which, often more light will be thrown on his subject than by talking it over for days and weeks with Natives who have never had the advantages of acquiring a knowledge of grammar. It is therefore, in my humble opinion, indispensable that the work of translating should be made a distinct branch of the operations of the Mission. If it

were in the power of the Committee immediately to send Missionaries to Rabbah or Bussa, their first business must be to reduce the Hausa Language to writing; and they might there find even fewer facilities for this than offer themselves in Sierra Leone. If the Committee participate in my conviction, that little can be done in Africa except through Native agency, they will agree with me, that it is necessary that the Native Teachers should be furnished with the Word of Life, as their commission to their perishing brethren, and the message of God to all. And this most important work, the translation of the Scriptures, cannot be left to the Natives.

I have frequently had occasion to allude, in my Journal, to the utility of Native Agency. The remarks there made are supported by facts, which cannot be contradicted: and if there should be any thing wanting to compensate me for feelings of disappointment in the results of the Niger Expedition in other respects, I acknowledge, with gratitude to God, that the information obtained on this subject is more than a counterbalance. It not only demonstrates to us, that the designs for which the Expedition has been chiefly undertaken will, in the course of events, be carried out by Natives; but that the nations in the interior acknowledge the superiority over themselves of their own country people who have received instruction, and are willing, nay anxious, to see them return, and to be instructed by them in the habits of civilized life, and especially in the truths of the Gospel. And must we not recognise the hand of God in this, seeing that this feeling is reciprocal? In Sierra Leone there is a general desire among the Liberated Africans to return to their own countries. This was unheard of only a few years ago. This state of things among the Africans, and the additional testimony, so mournfully brought out by

the disastrous events which befell the Expedition, of the unhealthiness of the climate, and impracticability of carrying out the Society's plans by European agency, call aloud upon the Committee for the adoption of measures by which these small beginnings may be improved to the greatest possible extent. Are the Natives of Africa, then, to become Missionaries to their own country people? Yes;—for this the Church of God has been longing and praying. And the Africans themselves call upon us to give them that preparation for this important work which God Almighty, in His infinite mercy and goodness, has placed in our power, and for our earnest prayers to Him that His blessing may rest upon them. I take the liberty of referring you to Samuel Crowther's Letter, accompanying his Journal, and addressed to yourself. It is not an expression of the desire of his heart alone, but of many others, who, by the blessing of the Lord, may become fit instruments, in His hand, in disseminating the Word of Life in distant parts of the globe. How is this to be done? It is the opinion of many Christian friends, that promising Young Men should be sent to England, and receive their education in this country; but it must be acknowledged that there are serious obstacles in the way. Their health would be exposed;—they might become too much accustomed to European comforts, and thereby become less capable of enduring hardships in Africa. As a general plan, I could not recommend it, though special cases might be so dealt with. An exception might now and then be made, to the advantage of the Missionary Cause in Africa. Others have thought that an Institution might be established at Malta, for Negro Youths; the climate being healthy, and the changes of Teachers, on account of ill health, less frequent than at Sierra Leone. The disadvantages would, on the other hand,

be very great. I am inclined to think, taking all things into consideration, that the Society would in no wise do better than by putting the Fourah-Bay Institution on such a footing, that the Students might there receive a superior education, with a special view to prepare them for the Missionary work. Hitherto, its chief attention has been directed to qualify the Students for the immediate wants of the Colony;—and the results have been most encouraging. A large number of able Schoolmasters have been educated there, who are now employed in the Society's Schools. Some have disappointed our hopes, by engaging in other services; but it is a consolation to know that the labour and expense bestowed upon their education by the Society has not been lost to Africa. Many are now employed in Government offices, as Clerks or Managers: others in merchant-houses, or at their timber-factories. Others, again, are employed as Schoolmasters under Government, or by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Some have engaged in commercial pursuits on their own account. One or two are already engaged in the Timmanee Country, as Schoolmasters. I need not propose on what plan the Institution should be established, or what the instruction delivered to the Students should be. The experience which the Committee have gained on this subject is sufficient to guide them in their plans. I would only observe, that I firmly believe that the Negro Youths possess equal capabilities with those of other countries.

But I cannot forbear making a few observations upon the internal management of the Institution. The appointment of the Tutors ought to be permanent. Serious inconveniences have ever been felt, arising from frequent changes. The persons in charge of it ought not to be called upon for other employment in the Mission; as it would unavoidably interfere with their duties, and occupy much of their time

and mind. There should be regular Quarterly Examinations held of the Students, and reports of the same transmitted to the Parent Committee. No Student, possessing abilities, should henceforth be appointed Schoolmaster for the different villages, so long as he may continue to improve by the instruction received in the Institution.

The Committee have been already apprised of the dilapidated state of the buildings of the Fourah-Bay Institution, and the necessity of erecting new and enlarged ones. This, and the increased number of Students to be admitted, will cause much expense to the Society ; which I deeply regret, considering the Society's pecuniary difficulties, and the urgent claims upon them from every quarter. Yet I cannot, I dare not, suppress an earnest appeal to the Committee, not to slacken their hands in this matter. To give to the Natives of Africa the best possible education will, under God, be the means of spreading the *Gospel of our salvation* far and wide. European agency is insufficient. How forcibly has this been demonstrated, by the early graves closing over many of the Society's Missionaries at Sierra Leone, and of the Missionaries of other Societies on the Western Coast. Their strength, in the debilitating climate of Africa is, in the best of days, but weakness ; it ought therefore to be consecrated to one point, and to that which promises the richest harvest.

If the question had been put to me, previously to my embarkation in the Niger Expedition—Do you not believe that either on the banks of the Niger, or at another settlement along the Coast, including Fernando Po, greater facilities will be offered to the Society for carrying their intentions into execution, than at Sierra Leone?—I should undoubtedly have expressed my persuasion that a more favourable spot and greater facilities would be met with at some other place.

Personal observation and experience, however, have caused me to change my mind. I know now, that the present state of Sierra Leone, whatever may have been the wisdom in its original selection, is of such a nature as justifies the expectation, that from it much good will be done for Africa; and that it will be the wisdom of the Church Missionary Society, and of all other Institutions which have the good of Africa at heart, to take every advantage of the facilities which present themselves at that place. I have alluded, in my Journal, to the obstacles in the way of sending European Missionaries to the interior of Africa; but have always endeavoured to avoid giving a decided opinion, from a fear that the distressing circumstances in which we were then placed might have an undue influence on my judgment. A more mature consideration—for which I have had time since my return to this country—has not, in the smallest degree, produced a change in my sentiments. The obstacles remain the same: the climate is unhealthy; and if there should be an opportunity offered by which Missionaries might be conveyed to the interior, there is no certainty that another would present itself, by which persons in ill health might return, or others receive the necessary supplies from England. For the present, then, and until a regular communication between England and Central Africa shall be established, I could not advise a European Mission. It may be questioned by many, whether the objections just alluded to would warrant the conclusion drawn from them; and whether the difficulties referred to ought not to be cheerfully encountered by Missionaries, in their *work of faith and labour of love*? To this I would remark, that the Lord has always been pleased to prepare the way for His servants, to whatever country He called them; and that a regular intercourse between the two countries should, in my judgment, be considered as the

opening of the door for Missionary enterprise. The insalubrity of the country alone would not be considered a sufficient ground for delay by myself, nor by other Missionaries. What I have said before on Fernando Po will show that, at present, not much good can be expected to result to Africa from that place. The question, what it might be made to be in future, is quite another thing: and the same applies to every other settlement along the coast, both English and American. The work of Scriptural Education has not been carried on in any of them to such an extent as to favour the hope that they would furnish a qualified agency for the evangelizing of Africa.

The Committee are well aware that Sierra Leone exhibits, in this respect, a very different and most encouraging aspect. In it, the foundation is laid upon which the Missionary work for Africa may be built. Three thousand two hundred and seventy-eight children receive daily five hours' instruction in the Society's Schools; and the Colony-born children evince an equal aptitude in acquiring knowledge with any other children in any part of the world. There are, at present, no less than forty Native Teachers employed in the Society's Schools, in which they are eminently useful. Some of them have been for many years engaged in making known the Gospel to their native brethren; and their conduct has, in general, not only given great satisfaction, but has called forth our devout gratitude to Almighty God for their usefulness, and for the perseverance and zeal which they have ever manifested. I have no hesitation in saying, that if the Church at Sierra Leone had been blessed with the paternal care of a Bishop, that several would ere now have been admitted to Holy Orders.

The Communicants, in general, have given proofs of the sincerity of their faith, by aiding and assisting the Missio-

naries as much as was in their power. Many render us great assistance as Teachers in the Sunday Schools, and in visiting and arguing with Pagans. Whenever a Church, School-house, or dwelling-house was built, they came forward with their liberal contributions in money and labour ; and have ever largely contributed, considering their means, to the general fund of the Society. I lately learned, that those of the Aku Nation in Sierra Leone have commenced making a collection of money, with a view to offer it to the Church Missionary Society, to enable them to send a Missionary to Badagry—a place in which they feel much interested, it being the inlet to their own, that is, the Yaruba Country. In one village alone the sum contributed amounted, a few days after the subscription was opened, to fifteen pounds.

You are aware, from previous information, that some wealthy individuals of this nation have purchased one or two prize-vessels at Sierra Leone, and taken on board British manufactures, and made several voyages to Badagry already, and opened a commercial intercourse with that place and the adjacent countries. I understand, too, that about 300 have already left Sierra Leone, with an intention to settle at Badagry, or to find their way to the spots from which they were once forcibly taken for the slave-market. Many more would leave for the same purpose, if they could enjoy the same religious privileges there which they enjoy at Sierra Leone. It is therefore their anxious wish that Missionaries should accompany them, and I cannot but lay my views on this subject before the Committee. I am aware of the pecuniary difficulties under which the Society is labouring, and by which their exertions are impeded ; and that the establishment of a new Mission can hardly be expected under these circumstances. Yet might not Samuel Crowther, a Native of the same country, and held in high

estimation by his brethren, be sent thither, after he shall have received Ordination? He might be accompanied by several Schoolmasters. To me it appears a providential opening; and I ever bear it in mind, in my supplications at the throne of grace. When the Akus first thought of the undertaking, they seemed to apprehend that the Slave-trade would interfere with them, and therefore asked for British protection. It does not, however, appear that they now entertain those apprehensions. The friendly reception which some of the Chiefs gave them, encouraged them; and I, for one, do not believe that they will be much molested by African or European Slave-traders. On the contrary, they are the most likely persons who will do much toward the abolition of the Slave-trade in their own country. The whole undertaking is of a very interesting nature. It proves, more than words can prove, that the Liberated Africans are advancing in civilization, and accumulating wealth. They are purchasing vessels in which they had before been packed up as a cargo for European cupidity. They are loading them with British manufacture—carry the same to their own countries—and give to their own Chiefs and country-people the most striking proofs that slavery is a curse upon any nation, and the abolition of it the opening of the door for innumerable blessings. It is such a proof as was long looked for—the realization of those hopes which animated the hearts of the earliest founders of Sierra Leone; and which ought now to be followed up by the liberality of British Christians, that their earnest desire of having the Gospel with them may be satisfied. I trust a few years more of experience and patient labour will for ever prove that Sierra Leone has not been “a complete failure.”

In conclusion, I beg leave to refer, in a few words, to the Timmanee Mission, lately established by the Society at Port

Lokkoh; and would entreat the Committee to strengthen it, as much as may be in their power, with an additional number of Labourers. I would especially recommend that one Missionary should be chiefly engaged in reducing the Foulah Language at that place. It is very desirable too, that, in connexion with the Timmanee Mission, an Institution for the training of Native Schoolmasters should be established. It might be done on a limited scale:—six or eight intelligent Youths would be sufficient, on the onset. By this means you would be able to prepare an agency by the time when portions of Scripture and elementary school-books will be completed in their own language. We have often felt the want of a Printing Establishment at Sierra Leone, and especially for the Timmanee Country; and if the Society should accede to my proposals, and make the study and reduction of Native Languages a prominent part of their operations, it would become absolutely necessary to furnish the Mission with one. Probably a Printer might be obtained at Sierra Leone, or from Liberia, or Cape Coast.

I am not aware that I can add any other suggestions to the above. I have made it my endeavour to give a faithful account of my share in the Niger Expedition, and must now leave it to the Committee to decide what measures shall be adopted for the benefit of the Africans. For my own part, I can only say, that the trying circumstances in which we have been placed have not shaken my confidence in the Lord, nor weakened my desire to devote my time, my health and life, to them. And though I may feel disappointed, seeing that there is no immediate prospect of entering upon the Missionary work in the interior, I feel compensated for it, knowing that the time will come when they shall hear the Gospel, and that this event may be hastened by those preparations to which the Lord has been pleased to direct us.

With sincere gratitude, I acknowledge God's mercy toward me, in preserving my unworthy life in the pestilential air of Africa; and in restoring my dear partner, whom I left, on my embarkation at Sierra Leone, in a very bad state of health. We have endeavoured to make God's service our delight, and He has truly made all our wants His care; and to Him be ascribed all praise and glory! My last request is, **PRAY FOR US**; pray for the Africans—that *this people, robbed and spoiled—snared in holes—hid in prison-houses—a prey which none delivereth—a spoil of which none saith, Restore—*may be brought into the glorious liberty of the Children of God, by faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I remain, ever affectionately yours,

JAMES FREDERICK SCHÖN.

APPENDIX III.

LETTER OF MR. SAMUEL CROWTHER TO THE REV. WILLIAM JOWETT, IN 1837, THEN SECRETARY OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, DETAILING THE CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH HIS BEING SOLD AS A SLAVE.

IN this Letter, the writer relates the circumstances connected with his being seized and sold as a slave—his journey to the coast—shipment on board a Slaver—capture by a British Cruiser—location in Sierra Leone—and his there being brought, through the blessing of God on the labours of the Society's Missionaries, to the knowledge and reception of the Gospel of Christ. His simple details present a clear and affecting view of the crimes and miseries of that trade in man, by which Africa is afflicted and demoralized.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Fourah Bay, Feb. 22, 1837.

As I think it will be interesting to you to know something of the conduct of Providence in my being brought to this Colony, where I have the happiness to enjoy the privilege of the Gospel, I give you a short account of it; hoping I may be excused if I should prove rather tedious in some particulars.

I suppose, some time about the commencement of the year 1821, I was in my native country, enjoying the comforts of father and mother, and the affectionate love of brothers and sisters. From this period I must date the unhappy—but which I am now taught, in other respects, to call blessed day, which I shall never forget in my life. I call it *unhappy* day, because it was the day in which I was violently turned out of my father's house, and separated from my relations; and in which I was made to experience what is called to be in slavery:—with regard to its being called *blessed*, it being the day which Providence had marked out for me to set out on my journey from the land of heathenism, superstition, and vice, to a place where His Gospel is preached.

For some years, wars had been carried on in my (Eyò) Country, which was always attended with much devastation and bloodshed: the women, such men as had surrendered or were caught, with the children, were taken captives. The enemies who carried on these wars were principally the Eyò Mahomedans—with whom my country abounds—with the Foulahs, and such foreign slaves as had escaped from their owners, joined together, making a formidable force of about 20,000, who annoyed the whole country. They had no other employment but selling slaves to the Spaniards and Portuguese on the coast.

The morning in which my town, Ochó-gu, shared the same fate which many others had experienced, was fair and delightful; and most of the inhabitants were engaged in their respective occupations. We were preparing breakfast without any apprehension; when, about 9 o'clock A.M., a rumour was spread in the town, that the enemies had approached with intentions of hostility. It was not long after when they had almost surrounded the town, to prevent any

escape of the inhabitants ; the town being rudely fortified with a wooden fence, about four miles in circumference, containing about 12,000 inhabitants, which would produce 3000 fighting men. The inhabitants not being duly prepared, some not being at home—those who were, having about six gates to defend, as well as many weak places about the fence to guard against, and, to say in a few words, the men being surprised, and therefore confounded—the enemies entered the town after about three or four hours' resistance. Here a most sorrowful scene imaginable was to be witnessed !—women, some with three, four, or six children clinging to their arms, with the infants on their backs, and such baggage as they could carry on their heads, running as fast as they could, through prickly shrubs, which, hooking their blies and other loads, drew them down from the heads of the bearers. While they found it impossible to go along with their loads, they endeavoured only to save themselves and their children : even this was impracticable with those who had many children to care for. While they were endeavouring to disentangle themselves from the ropy shrubs, they were overtaken and caught by the enemies with a noose of rope thrown over the neck of every individual, to be led in the manner of goats tied together, under the drove of one man. In many cases a family was violently divided between three or four enemies, who each led his away, to see one another no more. Your humble servant was thus caught—with his mother, two sisters (one an infant about ten months old), and a cousin,—while endeavouring to escape in the manner above described. My load consisted in nothing else than my bow, and five arrows in the quiver : the bow I had lost in the shrub, while I was extricating myself, before I could think of making any use of it against my enemies. The last view I had of my father was when he

came from the fight, to give us the signal to flee: he entered into our house, which was burnt some time back for some offence given by my father's adopted son. Hence I never saw him more.—Here I must take thy leave, unhappy, comfortless father!—I learned, some time afterward, that he was killed in another battle.

Our conquerors were Eyó Mahomedans, who led us away through the town. On our way, we met a man sadly wounded on the head, struggling between life and death. Before we got half way through the town, some Foulahs, among the enemies themselves, hostilely separated my cousin from our number. Here also I must take thy leave, my fellow captive cousin! His mother was living in another village. The town on fire;—the houses being built with mud, some about twelve feet from the ground with high roofs, in square forms, of different dimensions and spacious areas: several of these belonged to one man, adjoined to, with passages communicating with each other. The flame was very high. We were led by my grandfather's house, already desolate; and in a few minutes after, we left the town to the mercy of the flame, never to enter or see it any more. Farewell, place of my birth, the play-ground of my childhood, and the place which I thought would be the repository of my mortal body in its old age! We were now out of Ochó-gu, going into a town called Iseh'i, the rendezvous of the enemies, about twenty miles from our town. On the way, we saw our grandmother at a distance, with about three or four of my other cousins taken with her, for a few minutes: she was missed through the crowd, to see her no more. Several other captives were held in the same manner as we were: grandmothers, mothers, children, and cousins, were all led captives. O sorrowful prospect!—The aged women were to be greatly pitied, not being able

to walk so fast as their children and grandchildren: they were often threatened with being put to death upon the spot, to get rid of them, if they would not go as fast as others; and they were often as wicked in their practice as in their words. O pitiful sight! whose heart would not bleed to have seen this? Yes, such is the state of barbarity in the heathen land. Evening came on; and coming to a spring of water, we drank a great quantity; which served us for breakfast, with a little parched corn and dried meat previously prepared by our victors for themselves.

During our march to Iseh'i, we passed several towns and villages which had been reduced to ashes. It was almost midnight before we reached the town, where we passed our doleful first night in bondage. It was not perhaps a mile from the wall of Iseh'i when an old woman of about sixty was threatened in the manner above described. What had become of her I could not learn.

On the next morning, our cords being taken off our necks, we were brought to the Chief of our captors—for there were many other Chiefs—as trophies at his feet. In a little while, a separation took place; when my sister and I fell to the share of the Chief, and my mother and the infant to the victors. We dared not vent our grief by loud cries, but by very heavy sobs. My mother, with the infant, was led away, comforted with the promise that she should see us again, when we should leave Iseh'i for Dah'lah, the town of the Chief. In a few hours after, it was soon agreed upon that I should be bartered for a horse in Iseh'i, that very day. Thus was I separated from my mother and sister for the first time in my life; and the latter not to be seen more in this world. Thus, in the space of twenty-four hours, being deprived of liberty and all other comforts, I was made the property of three different persons. About

the space of two months, when the Chief was to leave Iseh'i for his own town, the horse, which was then only taken on trial, not being approved of, I was restored to the Chief, who took me to Dah'dah ; where I had the happiness to meet my mother and infant sister again with joy, which could be described by nothing else but tears of love and affection ; and on the part of my infant sister, with leaps of joy in every manner possible. Here I lived for about three months, going for grass for the horses with my fellow captives. I now and then visited my mother and sister in our captor's house, without any fears or thoughts of being separated any more. My mother told me that she had heard of my sister ; but I never saw her more.

At last, an unhappy evening arrived, when I was sent with a man to get some money at a neighbouring house. I went ; but with some fears, for which I could not account ; and, to my great astonishment, in a few minutes I was added to the number of many other captives, enfettered, to be led to the market-town early the next morning. My sleep went from me ; I spent almost the whole night in thinking of my doleful situation, with tears and sobs, especially as my mother was in the same town, whom I had not visited for a day or two. There was another boy in the same situation with me : his mother was in Dah'dah. Being sleepless, I heard the first cock-crow. Scarcely the signal was given, when the traders arose, and loaded the men slaves with baggage. With one hand chained to the neck, we left the town. My little companion in affliction cried and begged much to be permitted to see his mother, but was soon silenced by punishment. Seeing this, I dared not speak, although I thought we passed by the very house my mother was in. Thus was I separated from my mother and sister, my then only com-

forts, to meet no more in this world of misery. After a few days' travel, we came to the market-town, I-jah'í. Here I saw many who had escaped in our town to this place; or those who were in search of their relations, to set at liberty as many as they had the means of redeeming. Here we were under very close inspection, as there were many persons in search of their relations; and through that, many had escaped from their owners. In a few days I was sold to a Mahomedan woman, with whom I travelled to many towns in our way to the Popo country, on the coast, much resorted to by the Portuguese, to buy slaves. When we left I-jah'í, after many halts, we came to a town called Tó-ko. From I-jah'í to Tó-ko all spoke the Ebwah dialect; but my mistress Eyó, my own dialect. Here I was a perfect stranger, having left the Eyó country far behind. I lived in Tó-ko about three months; walked about with my owner's son with some degree of freedom, it being a place where my feet had never trod: and could I possibly have made my way out through many a ruinous town and village we had passed, I should have soon become a prey to some others, who would have gladly taken the advantage of me. Besides, I could not think of going a mile out of the town alone at night, as there were many enormous devil-houses along the highway; and a woman had been lately publicly executed (fired at), being accused of bewitching her husband, who had died of a long tedious sickness. Five or six heads, of such persons as were executed for some crime or other, were never wanting, to be nailed on the large trees in the market-places, to terrify others.

Now and then my mistress would speak with me and her son, that we should by-and-bye go to the Popo country, where we should buy tobacco, and other fine things, to sell at our return. Now, thought I, this was the signal of my

being sold to the Portuguese; who, they often told me during our journey, were to be seen in that country. Being very thoughtful of this, my appetite forsook me, and in a few weeks I got the dysentery, which greatly preyed on me. I determined with myself that I would not go to the Popo country; but would make an end of myself, one way or another. In several nights I attempted strangling myself with my band; but had not courage enough to close the noose tight, so as to effect my purpose. May the Lord forgive me this sin! I determined, next, that I would leap out of the canoe into the river, when we should cross it in our way to that country. Thus was I thinking, when my owner, perceiving the great alteration which took place in me, sold me to some persons. Thus the Lord, while I knew Him not, led me not into temptation, and delivered me from evil. After my price had been counted before my own eyes, I was delivered up to my new owners, with great grief and dejection of spirit, not knowing where I was now to be led. About the first cock-crowing, which was the usual time to set out with the slaves, to prevent their being much acquainted with the way, for fear an escape should be made, we set out for Jabbo, the third dialect from mine.

After having arrived at Ik-ke-ku Yé-re, another town, we halted. In this place I renewed my attempt of strangling, several times at night; but could not effect my purpose. It was very singular, that no thought of making use of a knife ever entered my mind. However, it was not long before I was bartered, for tobacco, rum, and other articles. I remained here, in fetters, alone, for some time, before my owner could get as many slaves as he wanted. He feigned to treat us more civilly, by allowing us to sip a few drops of White Man's liquor, rum; which was so estimable an article, that none but Chiefs could pay for a jar or

glass vessel of four or five gallons: so much dreaded it was, that no one should take breath before he swallowed every sip, for fear of having the string of his throat cut by the spirit of the liquor. This made it so much more valuable.

I had to remain alone, again, in another town in Jabbo, the name of which I do not now remember, for about two months. From hence I was brought, after a few days' walk, to a slave-market, called I'-ko-sy, on the coast, on the bank of a large river, which very probably was the Lagos on which we were afterwards captured. The sight of the river terrified me exceedingly, for I had never seen any thing like it in my life. The people on the opposite bank are called E'-ko. Before sun-set, being bartered again for tobacco, I became another owner's. Nothing now terrified me more than the river, and the thought of going into another world. Crying was nothing now, to vent out my sorrow: my whole body became stiff. I was now bade to enter the river, to ford it to the canoe. Being fearful at my entering this extensive water, and being so cautious in every step I took, as if the next would bring me to the bottom, my motion was very awkward indeed. Night coming on, and the men having very little time to spare, soon carried me into the canoe, and placed me among the corn-bags, and supplied me with an Ab'-alah for my dinner. Almost in the same position I was placed I remained, with my Ab'-alah in my hand, quite confused in my thoughts, waiting only every moment our arrival at the new world; which we did not reach till about 4 o'clock in the morning. Here I got once more into another dialect, the fourth from mine; if I may not call it altogether another language, on account of now and then, in some words, there being a faint shadow of my own. Here I must remark, that, during the whole night's voyage in the canoe, not a single thought of leaping into the

river had entered my mind ; but, on the contrary, the fear of the river occupied my thoughts.

Having now entered E'-ko, I was permitted to go any way I pleased ; there being no way of escape, on account of the river. In this place I met my two nephews, belonging to different masters. One part of the town was occupied by the Portuguese and Spaniards, who had come to buy slaves. Although I was in E'-ko more than three months, I never once saw a White Man ; until one evening, when they took a walk, in company of about six, and came to the street of the house in which I was living. Even then I had not the boldness to appear distinctly to look at them, being always suspicious that they had come for me : and my suspicion was not a fanciful one ; for, in a few days after, I was made the eighth in number of the slaves of the Portuguese. Being a veteran in slavery, if I may be allowed the expression, and having no more hope of ever going to my country again, I patiently took whatever came ; although it was not without a great fear and trembling that I received, for the first time, the touch of a White Man, who examined me whether I was sound or not. Men and boys were at first chained together, with a chain of about six fathoms in length, thrust through an iron fetter on the neck of every individual, and fastened at both ends with padlocks. In this situation the boys suffered the most : the men sometimes, getting angry, would draw the chain so violently, as seldom went without bruises on their poor little necks ; especially the time to sleep, when they drew the chain so close to ease themselves of its weight, in order to be able to lie more conveniently, that we were almost suffocated, or bruised to death, in a room with one door, which was fastened as soon as we entered in, with no other passage for communicating the air, than the openings under the eaves-drop. Very often

at night, when two or three individuals quarrelled or fought, the whole drove suffered punishment, without any distinction. At last, we boys had the happiness to be separated from the men, when their number was increased, and no more chain to spare : we were corded together, by ourselves. Thus we were going in and out, bathing together, and so on.—The female sex fared not much better.—Thus we were for nearly the space of four months.

About this time, intelligence was given that the English were cruising the coast. This was another subject of sorrow with us—that there must be war also on the sea as well as on land—a thing never heard of before, or imagined practicable. This delayed our embarkation. In the meanwhile, the other slaves which were collected in Popo, and were intended to be conveyed into the vessel the nearest way from that place, were brought into E'-ko, among us. Among this number was Joseph Bartholomew, my Brother in the service of the Church Missionary Society.

After a few weeks' delay, we were embarked, at night, in canoes, from E'-ko to the beach ; and on the following morning were put on board the vessel, which immediately sailed away. The crew being busy embarking us, 187 in number, had no time to give us either breakfast or supper ; and we, being unaccustomed to the motion of the vessel, employed the whole of this day in sea-sickness, which rendered the greater part of us less fit to take any food whatever. On the very same evening, we were surprised by two English men-of-war ; and on the next morning found ourselves in the hands of new conquerors, whom we at first very much dreaded, they being armed with long swords. In the morning, being called up from the hold, we were astonished to find ourselves among two very large men-of-war and several other brigs. The men-of-war were,

His Majesty's ships "Myrmidon," Captain H. J. Leeke, and "Iphigenia," Captain Sir Robert Mends, who captured us on the 7th of April 1822, on the river Lagos.

Our owner was bound with his sailors; except the cook, who was preparing our breakfast. Hunger rendered us bold; and not being threatened at first attempts to get some fruits from the stern, we in a short time took the liberty of ranging about the vessel, in search of plunder of every kind. Now we began to entertain a good opinion of our conquerors. Very soon after breakfast, we were divided into several of the vessels around us. This was now cause of new fears, not knowing where our misery would end. Being now, as it were, one family, we began to take leave of those who were first transshipped, not knowing what would become of them and ourselves. About this time, six of us, friends in affliction, among whom was my Brother Joseph Bartholomew, kept very close together, that we might be carried away at the same time. It was not long before we six were conveyed into the "Myrmidon," in which we discovered not any trace of those who were transshipped before us. We soon came to a conclusion of what had become of them, when we saw parts of a hog hanging, the skin of which was white—a thing we never saw before; for a hog was always roasted on fire, to clear it of the hair, in my country;—and a number of cannon-shots were arranged along the deck. The former we supposed to be the flesh, and the latter the heads of the individuals who had been killed for meat. But we were soon undeceived, by a close examination of the flesh with cloven foot, which resembled that of a hog; and, by a cautious approach to the shot, that they were iron.

In a few days we were quite at home in the man-of-war: being only six in number, we were selected by the sailors,

for their boys; and were soon furnished with clothes. Our Portuguese owner and his son were brought over into the same vessel, bound in fetters; and, thinking that I should no more get into his hand, I had the boldness to strike him on the head, while he was shaving by his son—an act, however, very wicked and unkind in its nature. His vessel was towed along by the man-of-war, with the remainder of the slaves therein. But after a few weeks, the slaves being transhipped from her, and being stripped of her rigging, the schooner was left alone on the ocean—"Destroyed at sea by captors, being found unseaworthy, in consequence of being a dull sailer."

One of the brigs, which contained a part of the slaves, was wrecked on a sand-bank: happily, another vessel was near, and all the lives were saved. It was not long before another brig sunk, during a tempest, with all the slaves and sailors, with the exception of about five of the latter, who were found in a boat after four or five days, reduced almost to mere skeletons, and were so feeble, that they could not stand on their feet. One hundred and two of our number were lost on this occasion.

After nearly two months and a half cruising on the coast, we were landed at Sierra Leone, on the 17th of June 1822. The same day we were sent to Bathurst, formerly Leopold, under the care of Mr. Davey. Here we had the pleasure of meeting many of our country people, but none were known before. They assured us of our liberty and freedom; and we very soon believed them. But a few days after our arrival at Bathurst, we had the mortification of being sent for at Freetown, to testify against our Portuguese owner. It being hinted to us that we should be delivered up to him again, notwithstanding all the persuasion of Mr. Davey that we should return, we entirely refused to

go ourselves, unless we were carried. I could not but think of my ill-conduct to our owner in the man-of-war. But as time was passing away, and our consent could not be got, we were compelled to go by being whipped; and it was not a small joy to us to return to Bathurst again, in the evening, to our friends.

From this period I have been under the care of the Church Missionary Society; and in about six months after my arrival at Sierra Leone, I was able to read the New Testament with some degree of freedom; and was made a Monitor, for which I was rewarded with sevenpence-halfpenny per month. The Lord was pleased to open my heart to hearken to those things which were spoken by His servants; and being convinced that I was a sinner, and desired to obtain pardon through Jesus Christ, I was baptized on the 11th of December 1825, by the Rev. J. Raban. I had the short privilege of visiting your happy and favoured land in the year 1826. It was my desire to remain for a good while, to be qualified as a Teacher to my fellow-creatures; but Providence ordered it so, that, at my return, I had the wished-for instruction under the tuition of the Rev. C. L. F. Haensel, who landed in Sierra Leone in 1827; through whose instrumentality I have been qualified so far, as to be able to render some help, in the service of the Church Missionary Society, to my fellow-creatures. May I ever have a fresh desire to be engaged in the service of Christ, for it is *perfect freedom!*

Thus much I think necessary to acquaint you of the kindness of Providence concerning me. Thus the day of my captivity was to me a blessed day, when considered in this respect; though certainly it must be unhappy also, in my being deprived on it of my father, mother, sisters, and all other relations. I must also remark, that I could not as

yet find a dozen Ocho-gu people from among the inhabitants of Sierra Leone.

I was married to a Christian woman on the 21st of September 1829. She was captured by His Majesty's Ship "Bann," Capt. Charles Phillips, on the 31st of October 1822. Since, the Lord has blessed us with three children—a son, and two daughters.

That the time may come when the Heathen shall be fully given to Christ for His inheritance, and the uttermost part of the earth for His possession, is the earnest prayer of

Your humble, thankful, and obedient Servant,

SAMUEL CROWTHER.

APPENDIX IV.

FOURAH-BAY INSTITUTION BUILDINGS' FUND.

THE COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY have long felt the importance of training African Youths in Sierra Leone for employment as Religious Teachers of their Countrymen. Experience has fully proved that the European constitution cannot long bear up against the insalubrity of the climate of West Africa. It is therefore plain, that, for the extensive diffusion of the Gospel in that country, a Native Agency must be resorted to. It is not less plain, that, in order to the efficiency of such an Agency, hopeful Youths must be duly educated for Religious Teachers. These views led the Committee to form an Educational Establishment at Fourah Bay, near Freetown, Sierra Leone, for that purpose, designated THE FOURAH-BAY INSTITUTION. The progress of the Institution has been much impeded by frequent changes in the Mastership of it, rendered unavoidable by sickness or death. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, it has already supplied the Mission with many useful Teachers, as Schoolmasters, Assistant Catechists, and Catechists. The Rev. G. A. Kissling, the Senior Missionary, writing to the Committee in July 1841, says:—"In the midst of interruptions and difficulties, a number of Schoolmasters and Native Teachers have been raised up, through the medium of that Institution, without whom it would be quite impossible to carry on those extensive operations which are now

committed to your Agents' charge. Your European Labourers in West Africa, notwithstanding the additional reinforcement lately made, are not much more in number than they were ten years ago, when barely half the field of usefulness was occupied, and when the several departments of Christian instruction were far from being so efficiently attended to as we have the satisfaction of observing it now. This improvement must, under God's blessing, be ascribed to the advanced strength and ability of our Native Brethren." Of the Institution, the Rev. J. F. Schön wrote to the Committee a few weeks ago:—"Hitherto its chief attention has been directed to qualify the Students for the immediate wants of the Colony; and the results have been most encouraging."

Not only has the Mission been thus supplied with many of its most important Agents; but many, trained in it, have entered into other employments in the Colony. This is doubtless a loss to the Mission; but not to the general interests of Africa. On this head Mr. Schön remarks, in the Letter just quoted:—"Some have disappointed our hopes, by engaging in other services; but it is a consolation, to know that the labour and expense bestowed upon their education by the Society has not been lost to Africa. Many are now employed in Government Offices, as Clerks or Managers: others in merchant-houses, or at their timber-factories. Others, again, are employed as Schoolmasters under Government, or by the Wesleyan Missionary Society. Some have engaged in commercial pursuits on their own account."

What, therefore, has been already accomplished by the Institution, under all its disadvantages, affords the strongest encouragement to persevere in the same course.

One additional ground of encouragement to the Committee is this. The Institution is now under the charge of the

Rev. Edward Jones, himself of African descent. Mr. Jones is well educated, and was admitted to Holy Orders some years ago in the Episcopal Church in the United States. Mr. Jones has now been many years in Sierra Leone, without suffering from the climate. In addition to this, the Committee have the prospect of obtaining for the Institution another Individual from the United States, a Native of Africa, also in Episcopal Orders. They have therefore a far more encouraging prospect of permanency in the Heads of the Institution than at any antecedent period.

The results of the Niger Expedition have supplied still stronger motives to the adoption of the most effective measures possible for training Africans as Religious Teachers:—

1. It has afforded additional and very painful proofs of the baneful influence of the climate of West Africa on European constitutions: so much so, that all parties are agreed, that to benefit Africa extensively, by imparting to her our religious and social blessings, Africans themselves must be the principal agents.

2. The important and cheering fact has been established, that both Chiefs and people are willing to receive instruction from Black Men, even of such as they know to have been in a state of slavery; and that such Black Men, trained in the Schools and Institution of the Society in Sierra Leone, are capable of acceptably imparting it. The fact is so peculiarly hopeful for Africa, that, in corroboration of it, the Committee quote the following passage from the above-mentioned Letter of Mr. Schön:—

“ I have frequently had occasion to allude, in my Journal, to the utility of Native Agency. The remarks there made are supported by facts, which cannot be contradicted: and if there should be any thing wanting to compensate me for feelings of disappointment in the results of the Niger Expe-

dition in other respects, I acknowledge, with gratitude to God, that the information obtained on this subject is more than a counterbalance. It not only demonstrates to us, that the designs for which the Expedition has been chiefly undertaken will, in the course of events, be carried out by Natives; but, that the Nations in the interior acknowledge the superiority over themselves of their own country-people who have received instruction, and are willing, nay anxious, to see them return, and to be instructed by them in the habits of civilized life, and especially in the truths of the Gospel."

The following occurrence is related by Mr. Schön, in his Journal. Describing his intercourse with Obi, king of Ibo, he says:—"I opened the English Bible, and made Simon Jonas read a few verses to him, and translate them into Ibo. The verses he read were some of the Beatitudes of our Saviour, in the Fifth Chapter of St. Matthew. Obi was uncommonly taken with this. That a White Man could read and write, was a matter of course; but that a Black Man—an Ibo man—a slave in times past—should know these wonderful things too, was more than he could ever have anticipated. He seized his hand, and pressed it most heartily: 'You must stop with me! you must teach me and my people!'"

Impressed by these considerations, the Committee have determined, so soon as they shall have sufficient pecuniary means at their disposal for the purpose, to enlarge the Institution at Fourah Bay, so as to admit of its receiving Thirty Students, with provision for the residence of Two Masters.

The design of the Institution is, to give to Native Youths that Christian Education which may fit them for stations of usefulness, with an especial reference to the preparation of

those who may be most promising for Teachers, including the Ministry.

While, in accordance with the design of the Institution, the course of study will comprise a good general education, the main objects will be the sound Theological training of the Youths, and the diligent use of the means best calculated to promote, under the Divine Blessing, personal Religion. It is proposed that the course of study should embrace, (1) English Composition, Geography, and History; (2) Arithmetic, Euclid, Algebra, Trigonometry, and the Branches of Natural Philosophy; (3) The Elements of Latin and Greek; (4) The most considerable of the Native Languages of West Africa; (5) Vocal Music; (6) Drawing and Perspective; (7) Scriptural Instruction, including the Holy Scriptures, as the basis of all Religious teaching; (8) Ecclesiastical History, with the Government, Articles, and Formularies of the Church of England; (9) Exposition of Scripture, Composition of Sermons, and the method of communicating knowledge to others. The whole of this course, however, can only be gradually carried out as the capacity and attainments of the Students will admit.

In addition to what has been already stated, it is intended that the Students should be encouraged to acquaint themselves with useful Mechanical Arts; the Principles of Gardening and Agriculture; and such other departments of knowledge as may contribute to enlarge their capacity for promoting the social improvement of their Countrymen.

In order to carry out the views of the Committee, the present Buildings at Fourah Bay, which are in a very dilapidated state, must be taken down, and larger and more substantial Buildings erected. The necessary cost of these will not be less than Two Thousand Pounds. The financial difficulties, however, in which the Church Missionary Society

is at present involved, wholly preclude the Committee from providing for the cost of them out of the regular income of the Society. That income is indeed scarcely adequate to maintain the existing establishments of the Society, even on the reduced scale on which the Committee have been compelled to place them. The Committee have, therefore, as the only available means of providing funds for the Fourah-Bay Institution Buildings, opened a separate Fund for Special Contributions for that specific object. To that Fund they earnestly solicit Contributions from the Members of the Society. They also appeal to those Friends of Africa, who, though not Members of the Church Missionary Society, are solicitous to promote the Religious and social welfare of Africa by means of Scriptural Education. The claims of Africa on the Religious and Benevolent are indeed strong and undeniable; for greatly has Africa suffered at our hands. Peculiar, too, are the facilities and encouragements now presented in Sierra Leone for repairing our wrongs, so far as reparation is practicable, by training and sending forth her own children as the Heralds of Salvation, and the harbingers of brighter and happier days to Africa. The Christianity of the Bible, and that alone, can heal the wounds of Africa, and raise her from her present degradation, to participate in our Religion, our Laws, and our Institutions—our science, our commerce, and our agriculture—and all those civil and social blessings which, through the Divine favour, we pre-eminently enjoy. Wisely, as well as eloquently, has Sir T. F. Buxton thus recorded his judgment of the paramount importance of CHRISTIANITY as the means of good to Africa:—

“The hope of effecting Africa’s civilization, and of inducing her tribes to relinquish the trade in man, is, without this assistance (Christianity), utterly vain. This mighty

lever, when properly applied, can alone overturn the iniquitous systems which prevail throughout that continent. Let Missionaries and Schoolmasters, the plough and the spade, go together, and agriculture will flourish; the avenues to legitimate commerce will be opened; confidence between man and man will be inspired; whilst Civilization will advance as the natural effect, and Christianity operate as the proximate cause, of this happy change.

“If indeed it be true, that such effects will follow in the train of Religion, and that Christianity alone can effect such changes, and produce such blessings, then must we pause before we take a single step without it. The cause of Africa involves interests far too great, and results far too stupendous, to be trifled with. The destinies of unborn millions, as well as of the millions who now exist, are at stake in the project; and the question is one of life or of death, of comfort and happiness or of unutterable misery.”

He emphatically adds—“I believe that Christianity will meet the necessities of the case, and will prove a specific remedy for the moral evil of Africa.”

BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE,

HENRY VENN,	} <i>Secretaries.</i>
RICHARD DAVIES,	
DANDESON COATES,	

*Church Missionary House,
Sept. 29th, 1842.*

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